4690
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ALAMPUR

P. R. RAMACHANDRA RAO

AKSHARA

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ALAMPUR

P. R. RAMACHANDRA RAO

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Rs 97 50

BALKRISHNA BOOK Co.,
Niralanagar, Lucknow-7.

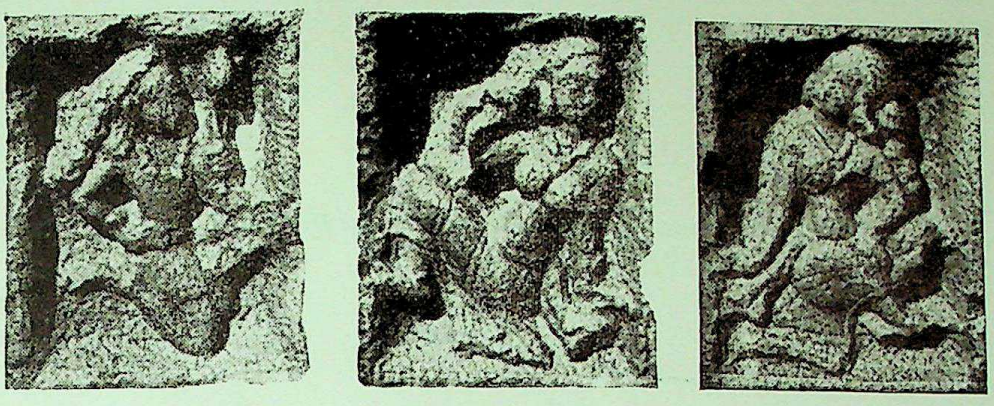
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ALAMPUR

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



ALAMPUR

A STUDY IN EARLY CHALUKYAN ART

P. R. RAMACHANDRA RAO

AKSHARA

16-11-1/3 MALAKPET, HYDERABAD-500 036, INDIA

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Published in March 1977 by AKSHARA, Hyderabad-500 036 in a limited edition of 500 copies

All Rights Reserved by the Author

4690

For my departed best friends, Bujji, Tej, Chanda, Suraj, Lallu, Rani, Livvy, Ping Pong, Eric and Bruno.

Printed in India by K.V. Murthy at Vijaya Graphics, 3-A Sringeri Mutt Road, R. K. Nagar, Madras-600 028.

Blocks by Klein and Peyerl, Madras-600 002.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	vii
Topographical Map	viii
Plates	ix
Introductory	1
Historical	2
Transmission of Influences	14
Alampur	20
Topography	24
The Temples	24
Architecture	30
Sculpture	32
Iconography	32
Consequences	33
References	35

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PREFACE

THE Nava-Brahma shrines of Alampur constitute an island of an architectural expression, of the Indo-Aryan (*nagara*) order amidst a markedly Dravidian temple tradition; the occurrence, seemingly strange, has a historical motivation. The temples are in the line of progression from the structures of the early Chalukyas at Aihole and Pattadakal; but every epoch of art is a becoming; it has a before and an after, and it has to be studied in its impulsions and consequences.

I have attempted in this study to set the temples of Alampur in their architectural perspective, conditioned alike by the contexts of history and geography. The current of art is a series of echoes; its threads run in evolving styles. From the Satavahanas, through their subordinate dynasties to the early Chalukyas of Badami, the impulses of architecture and sculpture are clearly discernible, in a realisation of the *nagara* order of temple; its further development, in the regional expression of the Kalinga style, is also manifest, even if in broken arcs. This study aims at piecing the thread of these achievements.

In the execution of this book I have made two significant departures. I have omitted the diacritical marks to the vernacular expressions, as the scholar will anyhow have no need of them and the lay reader can quite do without them, without any loss to his understanding. I have also omitted to furnish descriptive notes to the plates, as the annotations have been covered by the Notes to the Text; these are integral and must be read together for a full understanding of the subject.

Nearly all the photographs were taken by me, with a few exceptions, where the courtesy is duly acknowledged.

By a fortunate decision of the authorities, the Nava-Brahma temples will be spared inundation by the impending Srisailam project of the Krishna river, although other art heritages of the region, not so fortunate, will cease to be.

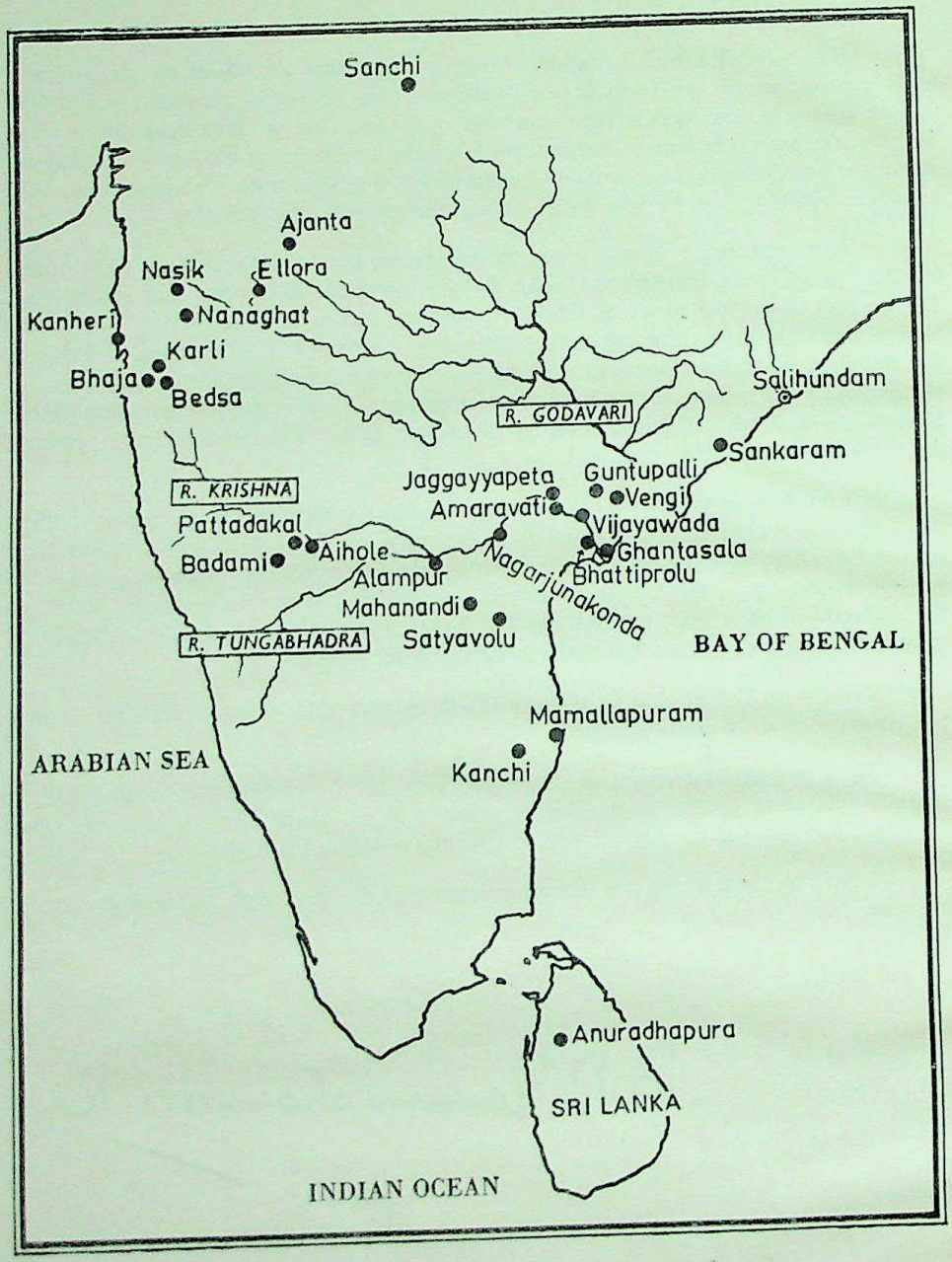
I have received at the site willing assistance of the field staff; to them my thanks are due.

Hyderabad
March 1977

P. R. Ramachandra Rao

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATES

1. Taraka-Brahma, side view
2. Taraka-Brahma, front view
3. Niche
4. Svarga-Brahma
5. *Dvarapala*
6. Porch of Svarga-Brahma
7. Niche, flanked by panels of sculptures
8. Indra
9. Bhikshatanamurti
10. Gangadharamurti
11. Lingodbhavamurti
12. Screen, flanked by *Mithuna*
13. Tripurantakamurti
14. *Mithuna*
15. Flying *Yakshas*
16. Nataraja
17. *Kinnara-Mithuna*
18. Varuna
19. *Gandharva-Mithuna*
20. Agni
21. *Mithuna*
22. *Mithuna*
23. Vayu
24. *Mithuna*
25. *Mithuna*
26. *Gandharva-Mithuna*
27. *Yaksha-Mithuna*
28. *Dvarapala*
29. *Mithuna*
30. Flying *Yaksha* couple
31. *Mukha-Linga*
32. Siva
33. *Mithuna*
34. *Mithuna*
35. Agni
36. Rathi-Manmatha
37. *Mithuna*
38. Frieze
39. Frieze
40. Frieze
41. *Mithuna*
42. *Mithuna*
43. Padma-Brahma
44. *Dvara*
45. Niche
46. Niche
47. *Dvarapala*
48. Niches, separated by screens
49. Niche
50. Dvarapala
51. Niche
52. Frieze
53. Frieze
54. Frieze
55. Garuda-Brahma
56. *Chauri* bearer
57. Niche, flanked by screens
58. Doorway of sanctum
59. Ganga
60. *Yaksha* couple
61. Yamuna
62. Niche, flanked by flying celestials
63. Niche, flanked by flying *Garudas*
64. *Dvarapala*
65. Flying *Gandharvas*
66. *Dvarapala*
67. Garuda-Brahma, another view
68. Niche, flanked by flying celestials
69. Niches, flanking *Yaksha* couple
70. Close-up of *Yaksha* couple of figure 69
71. Niches, flanking flying *Garudas*
72. Frieze
73. Flying *Gandharva*, flanked by niches
74. *Yaksha* couple
75. Flying *Gandharva*
76. Flying *Garuda*
77. *Garuda* couple
78. Bala-Brahma
79. Surya
80. *Dikpala*
81. *Dikpala*
82. Ardhanarisvara
83. *Dikpala*
84. Kumara-Brahma
85. Carved Pillar in *Mukha-mantapa*
86. Close-up of panel in figure 85
87. Carved pillar in *Mukha-mantapa*
88. Close-up of panel in figure 87
89. Close-up of panels in figure 87
90. Carved pillar in *Mukha-mantapa*
91. Close-up of panel in figure 90
92. Close-up of panel in figure 90
93. Close-up of panel in figure 90
94. Close-up of panel in figure 90
95. Carving on pillar in *Mukha mantapa*
96. Carving on pillar in *Mukha mantapa*
97. Kumara-Brahma, another view
98. *Dvara* of Arka-Brahma
99. Loose sculpture: fragment of *Dvarapala*
100. Doorway of sanctum
101. Loose sculpture: fragment from Sapta-matrukas.
102. Veera-Brahma
103. *Dvarapala*
104. *Dvara* of Veera-Brahma
105. Veera-Brahma, another view
106. Niche, flanked by flying celestials
107. Niche, flanked by flying celestials
108. Visva-Brahma
109. Yamuna
110. *Dvarapala*
111. *Dvara* of Visva-Brahma
112. *Mithuna*
113. Gaja-Katchapa battle
114. Niches, flanking panel of sculpture
115. *Yali*
116. Niche, with bracket figure and flying celestials
117. Bracket and niche
118. Close-up of bracket in figure 117

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

119. Mahishasura-mardani on *Yali*
120. Visva-Brahma, another view
121. Bracket figure
122. Sanctum
123. Dakshinamurti with Sanakasanandanas
124. *Mithuna*
125. Niches, separated by screen and panel of sculpture, with flying celestials
126. Trivikrama
127. Spire
128. *Mithuna*
129. *Mithuna*
130. Pillars before sanctum
131. The slaying of Hiranya-Kasyapa
132. Niche, flanked by *mithunas*
133. Niche
134. Scene from life
135. Frieze
136. Frieze
137. Frieze
138. Frieze
139. Frieze
140. Frieze
141. Frieze
142. Frieze
143. Frieze
144. Frieze
145. Mahishasuramardani
146. Dakshinamurti
147. Saptamatrukas
148. Bhairava
149. Chowdesvari
150. Indra-Agni
151. *Yaksha*
152. Nataraja
153. Brahma
154. Pradoshamurti
155. Carved pillar from fort wall
156. Mahishasura-mardani
157. Trimukha-mahesamurti
158. Virabhadra
159. Vrishabharudhamurti
160. Saptamatrukas
161. Carved pillar from fort wall
162. Close up of panel in figure 161, with Mahishasura-mardani in centre
163. Mahishasura-mardani
164. Lakulesa
165. Fragment of frieze, unidentified
166. Surya
167. Ganesa
168. Kapila
169. Naga
170. Mahishasura-mardani
171. *Kirti-mukha*
172. *Yakshi*
173. Miniature shrine
174. Lad Khan, Aihole
175. Huchchimalli-gudi, Aihole
176. Galaganatha, Pattadakal
177. Kont-gudi, Aihole
178. Papanatha, Pattadakal
179. Spire of Sangamesvara, Kudali
180. Spire of Mahanandisvara, Mahanandi
181. Sangamesvara, Kudali
182. Mahanandisvara, Mahanandi
183. Ramalingesvara, Satyavolu
184. Spire of Bhimesvara, Satyavolu
185. Bhimesvara, Satyavolu
186. Parasuramesvara, Bhuvanesvar
187. Sun temple, Osia
188. Temple near Baion, Roda

Photographs of plates 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 186, 187 and 188 by courtesy of the Director-General of Archaeology in India.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

INTRODUCTORY

The Nava-Brahma[1] temples of Alampur,[2] renowned as the *Dakshina Kasi*[3] (Varanasi of the South), on the west bank of the river Tungabhadra in the Mahaboobnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, are remarkable for the coalescence of an indigenous architectural idiom with the early Chalukyan style of Aihole[4] and Pattadakal,[5] evolving in the process a distinctive structural expression. The shrines of Alampur do not, however, stand alone in this architectural trend; they are corresponded in their vicinity, some ten miles off, by the lone picturesque temple of Sangamesvara at the confluence of the rivers, Krishna and Tungabhadra, near the village of Kudali;[6] and, in the same territory, by the fane of Mahanandisvara[7] near Nandyal in the Kurnool district; and, in the neighbourhood, four miles off Giddalur to the south-east, at Satyavolu,[8] by the shrine of Ramalingesvara.

The springs of these manifestations are indigenous, rather than extraneous by the percolation of the motifs of Gupta[9] architecture and sculpture, through mediate impulsions, as hitherto tacitly assumed—although the decorative devices of the Alampur temples may be owed to pre-existing common traditions developing natural dialectal characteristics in succeeding epochs by diversification of cultures; and by the same token, of dynastic conquests or migrations, the architectural concepts of the Nava-Brahma cluster are echoed in the Pratihara[10] shrines of distant Osia[11] in Rajasthan, in a surprising unity of cult.

The subject, lighted up by recent archaeological discoveries, calls for a restatement of the facts of art history.

NOTES

[1] The Nava (nine)-Brahma temples comprise the Bala-Brahma, Kumara-Brahma, Arka-Brahma, Veera-Brahma, Visva-Brahma, Taraka-Brahma, Garuda-Brahma, Svarga-Brahma and Padma-Brahma. These aspects of the deity have no parallel anywhere in India and bear no relation to the Nava-Brahmas strictly speaking—Marichi, Bharadvaja, Angirasa, Pulastya, Pulaha, Krata, Daksha, Vasishta and Vama-deva (T.V.G. Sastri: 'Sun Sculptures from Alampur', *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, 1972).

[2] Six miles from the railway station of that name on the Hyderabad-Kurnool section of the South Central Railway.

[3] The parallels between Varanasi and Alampur are interesting. The first stands on the bank of the Ganga, the other on the Tungabhadra; both have 64 *ghattas* (ghats or bathing-places); Visvesvara, the principal divinity at Varanasi is corresponded by Brahmesvara at Alampur;

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and the auxiliary deities, Ganesa and Kala-Bhairava among them, are common to both. Hence, the topographical *Sthalapurana* (50):

Brahmesoyam sa Visvesah sa Kasi Hemalapuri
Sa Ganga Tungabhadreyam satyameta nnasamsayah

(The Tungabhadra is the Ganga; Hemalapura (Alampur) is Kasi, and Brahmesvara is Visvesvara; of this there can be no doubt).

Alampur is, besides, the western of the four traditional gateways to the ancient shrine of Srisailam to Siva; the others, Tripurantakam, Siddhavatam and Umamahesvaram, are to the east, south and north.

4 Ayyavole (*Skrt.* Aryapura), the earliest capital of the Chalukyas, eight miles to the north-east of Pattadakal, in the Bijapur district of Karnataka. One of the cradles of Indian temple architecture, Aihole has no fewer than 70 incipient stone-built shrines, executed with fervour and energy for some two centuries from 450.

5 Literally 'coronation-stone', as the metropolis was the scene of the consecrations of the early Chalukya kings. Studded with temples both of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian orders, dateable to the first half of the eighth century, Pattadakal was a testing-ground of Hindu temple architecture and lay on the left bank of the Malaprabha, 10 miles to the north-east of Badami (Vatapi), the earlier capital after which the first Chalukya dynasty was called.

6 Of which Kudavalli and Kadavelli are variants.

7 Nine miles from Nandyal, Mahanandi is situated at the foot of a spur of the Nallamala range of the Eastern Ghats, in a gorge of luscious beauty.

8 The temples of Satyavolu consist, besides the Ramalingesvara, of the Bhimalingesvara and other smaller shrines, of which one is apsidal, and 16 votive stone-cut miniatures.

9 The epoch of the imperial Guptas (320-600) is the Augustan age of Indian culture, marked by an efflorescence of classical art and literature, and the reformation of the Brahmanical religion. The plastic arts were informed by impeccable symmetry and perspective, serenity and energy. The image is integrated into the decorative scheme rightfully; sculpture becomes part of the architectural format; and art, in all its media, is a statement of explicit conception, achieving a new dimension of beauty, at once spiritual and voluptuous.

10 Meaning 'door-keepers', in the derogatory allusion of their rivals, the Rashtrakutas. The Pratihara empire included, at its height, the Punjab, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Central India and the Ganga Yamuna *doab*.

11 Thirty-two miles north-west of Jodhpur, the temples of Osia are enlivened by arabesques of embellishment, even if over-elaborate, displaying a variety of design and naivete and a freshness in carving.

HISTORICAL

I

The Satavahanas, whose origins the recent discoveries[1] place in the Andhra territory, in the hinterland of the River Krishna, rose to power on the dismemberment of the Mauryan empire, around 230 B.C.; following Simukha (Srimukha, 271-248 B.C.), the reputed founder of the fortunes of the dynasty, his brother, Krishna (248-230 B.C.), after whom the Kanheri[2] caves off Bombay are named, extended his dominions as far west as Nasik[3], where, on an adjacent hill, the earliest of the Pandu-lena sanctuaries, 19, was hewn in his reign. But it was Satakarni II (184-128 B.C.) who laid the foundations of the supremacy of the line; from the Sungas of Magadha (South Bihar) he wrested Malwa, attested by the existence of an inscription[4] on the south gateway at Sanchi,[5] registering a donation of the foreman (*avesani*) of his artisans, Vasishtiputra Ananda; he subjugated Kalinga (Orissa) and signalised his victories by the celebration of the Asvamedha, Rajasuya and Agnyadheya, Vedic sacrifices; by the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

commemorative epigraph[6] of his queen, Naganika (Nayanika) at the Nanaghat[7] cave (where his portrait is carved in relievo), he was 'the wielder of the unchecked wheel' (*apratihata-chakra*) and 'the Lord of the Deccan' (*Dakshinapatha-pati*); a protagonist of Brahmanism, he was a votary of the gods Sankarshana and Vasudeva; and the phallic Siva, Parasuramesvara, one of the earliest Hindu sculptures extant, at Gudimallam,[8] is assigned to his time.

After almost a century of eclipse by the intruding foreign powers, the Greeks, the Scythians and the Parthians, relieved only by Pulumavi I's (43-19 B.C.) conquest of Magadha in an overthrow of the Kanva dynasty, the ascendancy of the Satavahanas was restored by the formidable Gautamiputra Satakarni (62-86 A.D.); by the panegyric of the inscription[9] at Nasik of his mother, Gautami Bala Sri, he was the *Satavahana-kula-yasah-pratishtapana-kara*, the founder of the glory of the Satavahana race; *raja-raja*, king of kings, his dominions girdled the most part of peninsular India, from sea to sea, from Cuddalore in the far south, across the basins of the Krishna, Godavari and Narmada rivers, through Karnataka, Vidarbha, Malwa and Maharashtra to Saurashtra and Rajasthan; in the expressive phrase of the epigraph, he was *tri-samudra-toya-pita-vahana*, one whose chargers drank the waters of the three seas; he was the 'abode of the Vedas', the *Ekabrahmana* (Defender of the Faith); yet, with a catholicity common to his House, he dedicated Cave 3 of Pandu-lena at Nasik to Buddhist ascetics.

To the reign of his son, Vasishtiputra Pulumavi II (86-114), styled *Dakshina-pathesvara*, belong inscriptions[10] from the Pandu-lena and Karle[11] caves, and, significantly, from Amaravati[12] (where he is believed to have set up, at the request of Nagarjuna, the celebrated Buddhist divine, the sculptured railing to the famous *stupa*) and, in its vicinity, Dharanikota (Dhanyakataka) in the reaches of the Krishna by the east coast—a pointer to the shifting of emphasis in the seats of Satavahana power, crippled by the incursions of the Scythian satrap, Chastana, in the north-west.

Yajna Sri Satakarni (128-157), the last great ruler of the line, presided over the destinies of a diminishing empire; although his epigraphs have been discovered at Nasik and Kanheri and his coins widely dispersed as far west as Saurashtra, through Chanda and Aparanta (north Konkan), it was over his eastern dominions that his effective supremacy was exercised; he befriended Nagarjuna and constructed for him the great *sangharama* (monastery) at Sriparvata;[13] and an inscription[14] of Yajna Sri at Chinna Ganjam[15] by the east coast, recording a grant to a Buddhist establishment, bespeaks the existence there of a *stupa* which was the subject of the royal patronage. After a final spurt of brilliance in his rule, the expiring taper of Satavahana power sank to a dull eclipse about 225 A.D. through the reigns of his effete successors, in a devolution of their territories among their feudatories.

Themselves adherents at first of the Vedic religion, the Satavahanas nourished the proliferating monuments of the Buddhist faith in their extensive dominions—importantly, gateways (*toranas*) to the great *stupa* at Sanchi, erected by Asoka; *stupas* at Amaravati, Bhattiprolu,[16] Ghantasala,[17] Jaggayyapeta[18] and Salihundam,[19] and rock-cut *chaityas* (chapels) and *viharas* (monasteries) at Bhaja,[20] Kondane,[21] Pitalkhora,[22] Bedsa,[23] Nasik, Ajanta,[24] Karle, Junnar,[25] Kanheri and Guntupalli.[26]

II

The inheritors of the Satavahana empire were lesser dynasties; the north-western dominions, centred at Nasik, passed to the Abhiras,[27] generals formerly of the Scythian satraps; the powerful Vakatakas, whose origins are fixed epigraphically[28]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

about Amaravati on the Krishna, reigned over all of the Central Deccan from Bundelkhand in the north to the erstwhile Hyderabad State; the Chutu-(Naga)-Satakarnis, collaterals of the imperial line governed in western Karnataka from the city of Vaijayanti (Banavasi); the Ikshvakus, a migrant Aryan tribe from Kosala, to the east of Oudh, seized the homeland of their Satavahana overlords in the east, swaying the valley of the Krishna; they were, however, overthrown by the Pallavas, indigenous to the region and risen to kingship at Kanchi from subordinate positions in the Satavahana territory; and, at Vengi,[29] north of the lower Krishna, the native Vishnukundins (from Vinukonda)[30] ruled in displacement of the antecedent Salankayana line, mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy (c. 150).

These dynasties were entwined by matrimonial alliances. Kodabalisiri, the daughter of the Ikshvaku king, Sri Virapurushadatta (250-270) was married to a Chutu-Satakarni of Vaijayanti, probably Vishnurudra-Sivalananda; and, by espousing a daughter of Siva Skanda Satakarni, another king of that house, the Pallava chieftain, Simha-varman, reputedly inherited the kingdom of his father-in-law. In an epochal union, Prabhavati, the daughter of the emperor Chandragupta II (376-414)[31] was wedded to the Vakataka monarch, Rudrasena II (385-90); his grandson, Narendrasena, took to wife Ajitabhattarika, daughter of Kakustha-varman (425-50), king of the Kadambas who supplanted the Chutu-Satakarnis at Banavasi; and it was probably a granddaughter of Harisena, of the collateral Vakataka branch at Vatsagulma (Basim),[32] who became the queen of the Vishnukundin, Madhava-varman I (440-460), and the Pallava ruler, Simha-vishnu (574-600), father of the great Mahendra-varman, became the son-in-law of Vikramahendra, the Vishnukundin sovereign.

III

Vindhyasakti (255-75), 'the banner of the Vakataka race', was a feudatory of the later Satavahanas; he fathered a dynasty which rose to greatness, contemporaneously with the imperial Guptas, under his son, Pravarasena I (275-335), styled *samrat* (emperor); his prowess was matched by his descendant in the collateral line, Harisena (475-510); in their heydays their extensive dominions stretched from the Narmada to the Krishna, reaching out to Srisailam on its banks, where queen Prabhavati (*nee* Chandravati, the Gupta princess) is credited by the *Sthalamahatmya* (topographical account) of having offered every day a garland of jasmine flowers to the god Mallikarjuna.[33]

To the Vakatakas is due the best of the art of Ajanta, in its magnificence of architecture, sculpture and painting, proximately derived from the antecedent Satavahana style of Amaravati especially; by its inscription, Cave 16 was dedicated to its monks by Varahadeva, minister to Harisena; in like 'box-headed' script, characteristic of the dynasty, the donative epigraphs of Caves 20 (by Upendra) and 26 (by Buddhabhadra) proclaim them Vakataka establishments. Other Caves of the line are 1, 2, 17 (by a feudatory of Harisena), 19 and 27 at Ajanta, and the earliest at Ellora,[34] 1 to 4, at Aurangabad[35] and Elephanta.[36] The Vishnukundin king, Madhava-varman I, matrimonially connected to the Vakatakas, was doubtless inspired by the architecture of Ajanta to excavate the Mogalarjapuram[37] and Undavalli[38] caves at Vijayawada; and, in a transmission of the impulse, the Pallava king, Simha-vishnu (574-600), son-in-law of another Vishnukundin, Vikramahendra, promoted the rock-cut mode at Bhairavuni-konda,[39] which his son, the famous Mahendra-varman, carried to further refinements at Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram).[40]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

IV

The Ikshvakus of Sri Parvata[41] in the valley of Nagarjunakonda[42] were, in the Puranic phrase, *Andhra-bhrityas* (servants of the Satavahanas); overthrowing the last ruler of that line, Rudra Satakarni (219-227), the *Ikshvaku-svami* (lord), Vasishtiputra Chantamula (227-250), established the dynasty at Vijayapuri (City of Victory) on the lower Krishna; by a conventional eulogy, repeated in most of the inscriptions, he was of unimpeded purpose in all his aims (*apratihata-sankalpa*); like his successors, a champion of Brahmanism, he was a worshipper of the deity Kartikeya (*Virupakshapati-Mahasena-parigrahita*), three of whose shrines, and another to his consort, Devasena, have been uncovered at Nagarjunakonda. (The cult was later adopted by the Chalukyas who made their debut as rulers in the Ikshvaku territory). But the royal ladies, in a refreshing freedom of faith, were votaries of Buddhism; importantly, Chantisiri, sister to Chantamula, renovated (rather than established) at Vijayapuri the *Maha-chaitya* (great *stupa*) and constructed at its foot a *Maha vihara*, with a *saila-mandapa* (stone pavilion), dedicating them to the *acharyas* (masters) of the Aparamahavinaseliya[43] sect. The more outstanding benefactions to the Buddhist Church at Nagarjunakonda, however, were by the lay votaress (*upasika*) of Gopagrama, Bodhisiri, wife of Buddhamnaka and niece of the royal treasurer (*Koshthagarika*); for the benefit of the *acharyas* of Ajanta and of the fraternity of monks from India and beyond, of Tamraparna (Ceylon), Kashmira, Gandhara, China, Kirata (Ptolemy's Kirrhadia, around Sylhet), Tosali (Dhauli, off Bhuvanesvara), Aparanta, Vanga (Bengal), Vanavasi, Yavana (Ionia), Dravida and Palura (near Ganjam in Orissa), she built at the *vihara* on the Kshudra (small) Dharmagiri a *chaitya*-hall and a *chaitya*, and also among other offerings, a *chaitya*-hall at the Kulahaka-*vihara*, a shrine for the Bodhi tree at the Simhala (Ceylonese)-*vihara*, a prayer-hall (*prardhana-sala*) at Devagiri, and stone *mandapas* at Purvasaila, Kantakasaila (Ghantasala) and Pushpagiri.

This devotion to the Buddhist faith was shared by the son of Vasishtiputra Chantamula, Mathariputra Sri Virapurushadatta (250-270), who erected for the *Mahachaitya* at Velagiri (Jaggayyapeta) four *aryaka*[44] pillars, and also by his illustrious successor, Ehavala Chantamula (270-295), whose reign was, however, more notable for the construction of Brahmanical shrines, chiefly to Siva, named by his variants, and of vital import to the formative Hindu temple. Of these were the shrine of Pushpabhadra-svamin by Maharaja-kumara Sri Virapurushadatta, son of Ehavala Chantamula, by his queen Kupanasiri, with a *dhvaja-stambha* (flag-staff) and a *teppakulam* or stepped tank for the festive flotation of the god in its vicinity; a two-storeyed palatial pavilion by the Commander-in-chief, Elisri, for Sarva-devadhi-vasa; a *devakula* (temple) to Nodagisvara-svamin by Ratavasya, the daughter of a merchant, and other temples to Durga (consort of Siva), Hariti[45] (whose *putras* or sons the Chalukyas professed themselves), the Nava-*grahas* (planets) and Yakshas (tutelary deities). The solitary shrine to Vishnu, discovered at Nagarjunakonda, was of Ashtabhuja-svamin, a three-chambered structure fronted by a flag-staff, established in 278 in the interregnum of the Abhira king, Vasishtiputra Vasusena.

In the succeeding reign of Rudrapurushadatta (295-306), son of Ehavala Chantamula by his Scythian wife Siri Vammabhatta, marked incidentally by an epigraph[46] speaking to a donation by a Nodukasiri to the god at Halampura (identified with Alampur), other feudatories of the Satavahanas rose to power, until the Pallava hosts under Yuvaraja (the Crown Prince) Sivaskanda-varman (310-335) overran the Ikshvaku territory (which, at its peak, extended from Nalgonda to Nellore across the reaches of the Krishna), bringing the dynasty to an end.

To the Ikshvaku period belong the *stupas* of Nagarjunakonda, Gummadidurru[47] and Goli,[48] in a lateral extension of the Buddhist art of Amaravati.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

V

The Pallavas, denizens at first of the Palnad (Pallava-nadu) division of the Guntur district, rose to become governors of the southern marches of the Satavahana empire; one of the their chieftains, the earliest known, Vira Kurcha (the Simha-varman of an inscription[49] from Manchikallu near Nagarjunakonda) is reputed to have inherited the kingdom of Vanavasi, attaining royal status, by taking to wife a Naga princess, a daughter of Siva-skanda of the Chutu-Satakarni line; in a southern extension of his dominion, Simha-varman captured Kanchi, and in the time of his son, Siva Skanda-varman, the king of kings, the Pallava territory stretched from the western sea-board of the Deccan to the Krishna in the north, in an annexation of the quondam Satavahana dominions. The ascendancy of the Pallavas was crippled, however, by the climacteric defeat of their king, Vishnugopa, by the emperor Samudra-gupta in the course of his punitive expedition to the South (c. 345); after a hiatus in history, the ebbed fortunes of the dynasty were redeemed by the architect of its supremacy, Simha-vishnu (574-600), titled *Avani-simha* (Lion of the earth) for his subjugation of the southern powers, the Cholas and the marauding Kalabharas; he is sculptured in relief, like his son, Mahendra-varman (600-630), with his two consorts, in the Varaha cave at Mamallapuram. But the son covered himself with greater glory by his many-sided accomplishments (*vichitra-chitta*), as warrior, poet, musician, painter and builder of rock-cut temples, which it was his boast to have created, by his Mandagapattu[50] inscription, 'brickless, timberless, metalless and mortarless', after the fashion of the Vishnukundins, whose king, Vikramahendra, was the father of his mother; such were his rock-cut shrines at Tiruchirappalli (Trichinopoly),[51] Vallam,[52] Mahendravadi[53] and Dalavanur.[54] He ruled over a kingdom from the river Kaveri in the south to the north of the Krishna; yet, he was defeated, in a loss of his northern province of Vengi, by the Chalukya king, Pulakesin II, at Pullalur, some 15 miles off Kanchi, in the first of many battles, of varying fortunes, between the two powers contending for the mastery of the Deccan for upwards of two centuries. This defeat was avenged by the son of Mahendra-varman, Narasimha-varman I (630-668), the greatest of the Pallavas, by slaying Pulakesin II, in terrible retribution, on a renewal of hostilities by him, storming his capital, in an assumption of the title, *Vatapi-konda* (captor of Vatapi)—an achievement recorded on a rock behind the Mallikarjuna temple in the Chalukya metropolis. To Narasimha-varman are due some of the famed monolithic shrines, *rathas*, a unique reference gallery of extant temple types, at Mamallapuram, among which, on the Dharmaraja his own portrait is sculptured; and, visiting Kanchi during his reign, the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang (630-643), found it to be a focus of great learning, a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country. In a resumption of warfare, Paramesvara-varman I, grandson of Narasimha-varman, although worsted at first in a battle at Vilande (near Tiruchirappalli) by the Chalukya, Vikramaditya I, put him to flight, 'covered only by a rag', in the hyperbole of the Pallava records,[55] at Peruvalanallur,[56] in a decisive war, inflicting on him telling losses. But the renown of the Pallavas was taken to greater heights in the peaceful reign of Narasimha-varman II Rajasimha (Lion among kings) (680-720), son of Paramesvara-varman I; the great Sanskrit rhetorician, Dandi, lived at his court, and the Shore temple at Mamallapuram and the Kailasanatha shrine at Kanchi, in their ornate splendour, were constructed during his reign; it was also notable for his dispatch of an embassy to China. His son, Paramesvara-varman II (720-731), however, encountered an attack on his capital by the Chalukya crown-prince, afterwards Vikramaditya II, purchasing peace at a heavy cost; in the reign of Nandi-varman II (731-795), the next Pallava king, Vikramaditya II laid siege to Kanchi, signalising his victory however by open-handed benefactions to the people and restoring to the Kailasanatha its vast

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

treasures of gold— deeds which he proudly inscribed in the temple, in retaliation for the sack of Badami by Narasimha-varman I. But, in the reign of Kirti-varman II, son of Vikramaditya II, the "rajya-Sri (sovereignty) of the Chalukyas", in the expressive phrase of their later epigraphs, "disappeared from the face of the earth", eclipsed by the rising star of Dantidurga (752-756), the founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty; after a run of spectacular conquests, in erosion of the Chalukyan power, he proceeded against Kanchi and, by a quirk of fortune, won the beleaguered Nandi-varman for a son-in-law, giving him the hand of his daughter Reva; the wheel of dynastic alliances in the Deccan had come full circle. To Nandi-varman are owed the Muktesvara and, probably, the Vaikuntha-Perumal temples at Kanchi.

VI

Recent archaeological finds point to Hiranya-rashtra (corresponded by the present-day Cuddapah-Kurnool territory and its environs) as the homeland of the Chalukyas, affording confirmation of the substance of the tradition, registered in the grants of their Eastern branch,[57] tracing the legendary ancestor of the dynasty, Vishnu-vardhana, to Mudivemu *agrahara* (Peddamudiyam) in the Cuddapah district. The earliest Chalukya chieftain known, by a Nagarjunakonda inscription[58] was Vasishti-putra Khamda-Chaliki-Ramanaka (*Skrt.* Skanda-Chaliki-ramana), of the Hiranyaka clan, a *mahasenapati* (Generalissimo) and a *mahatalavara* (of viceregal dignity) under the Ikshvaku king, Virapurushadatta. A copper-plate grant,[59] issued by Pulakesin II, of the village of Tummeyanuru locates it in the Chalukya *vishaya* (division), named after the tribe, to signify its domicile in the kingdom; and from the provenance of the copper-plate on the border of Kurnool and the reference in the grant to the god Sangamesvara, whose temple stands at the conflux of the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra at Kudali in the vicinity of Alampur, it was doubtless part of the Chalukya native land, from which indeed most of the early epigraphs of the dynasty were recovered.

An indigenous people, risen to consequence in the service of the later Satavahanas and their successors, the Chalukyas seem to have moved west towards Vanavasi, owing allegiance to the emergent Kadamba power on the disintegration of the Vakataka empire, and carved out a principality in the region of Vatapi in the time of the last of the Kadambas, the effete Hari-varman (537-547), to become, masters, with their collateral branches in Vengi, Kalyani[60] and Gujarat, of extensive dominions in the Deccan and beyond, for over six centuries in a unified sway, equalled only by the imperial dynasty of Vijayanagara (1336-1649) thereafter.

To the east of the fortress of Badami, overlooking the river Malaprabha, was Mahakuta, and five miles further east on the river, Pattadakal and another eight miles down-stream, Aihole—witnesses to the ascendancy of the early Chalukyas and names hallowed, by their galaxies of refulgent shrines, in the history of Indian temple architecture. It was, therefore, natural that the Chalukyas of Badami should, in the zenith of their power, make a nostalgic and triumphant return to the cradle of their fortunes, and erect at Alampur and in its environs, at Kudali-Sangamesvaram, Mahanandi and Satyavolu, temples of the distinctive type, with the curvilinear *sikhara*, promoted with outstanding success, out of their experiments in temple style, in the Huchchimalligudi and the Temple No. 9 at Aihole, and the Papanatha and the Galaganatha shrines at Pattadakal.

By a *prasasti* (eulogy), which assumed a definitive form in the Hyderabad grant (612)[61] of Pulakesin II, the Chalukyas were Hariti-putras of the Manavya-*gotra*,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

nourished by the *Saptamatrukas* (mothers of the seven worlds), and acquired uninterrupted prosperity through the protection of Kartikeya, the son of Siva, making all kings subject to them at the sight of the boar-crest (*Varaha-lanchana*) which they gained through the favour of the god Narayana.

To Jayasimha-vallabha, the reputed founder of the dynasty, are ascribed the earliest temples at Aihole—the Lad Khan, the Kont-gudi and the Durga, and to his son, Ranaraga, the Mahakutesvara shrine is probably due; but the real architect of the Chalukyan power was Pulakesin I, ('the great Lion', 543-566), titled by the Mahakuta pillar inscription (672)[62] *Satyasraya* (asylum of truth), *Sri-prithvi-vallabha* (beloved of fortune and of the earth) and *Rana-vikrama* (valorous in war); he fortified the defensible tableland of Badami, laying its foundations as the metropolis; and he performed the *asvamedha* sacrifice, the sign of sovereignty. His son, Kirti-varman I (566-587) subjugated the Kadambas, the Nalas (of Bellary and Kurnool) and the Mauryas (of Konkan), in a wide extension of the infant power; he embellished Badami by the erection of many shrines, notably the beautiful Vaishnava cave temple, which was constructed at his bidding by his brother and successor, Mangalesa, who endowed it in his reign at the time of the consecration of the image of Vishnu. On the death of Kirti-varman I, during the minority of his son, Pulakesin II, Mangalesa ruled as regent; in thrusts of expansion, he subdued the Kalachuris of Gujarat, Khandesh (around Nasik) and Malwa and reduced Revati-dvipa (Goa); he was a *parama-bhagavata* (great devotee of Vishnu), a ruler of high learning and munificence. However, when he overreached himself, in a protraction of his rule to secure the succession for his own son, he was overthrown by the rightful claimant, Pulakesin II, a great soldier who became the greatest monarch of the dynasty.

At the time of his accession, the kingdom, in the words of the Jain poet Ravikirti, the author of the famous Aihole inscription (634)[63] was "encompassed by the darkness of enemies;" yet, Pulakesin brought into subjection the refractory Kadambas and Mauryas and worsted the rebel ruler of the Gangas, Durvinita, claiming the hand of his daughter, who became the mother of his son, Vikramaditya I; then he humbled the Latas, the Malavas and the Gurjaras to the north, bringing the frontiers of his kingdom at one bound in confrontation with the great emperor, Harsha,[64] on whom he inflicted a spectacular defeat on the banks of the Narmada. Then Pulakesin undertook extensive campaigns in the eastern Deccan, conquering southern Kosala and Kalinga, reducing Pishtapura (Pithapuram) and overthrowing the Vishnukundins in a grim battle by the Kunala (Kolleru) lake in the Andhra country where Pulakesin installed about 631 his younger brother, Vishnu-vardhana, who founded the eastern Chalukya dynasty of Vengi, which held sway for 400 years thereafter, until its absorption into the imperial Chola House; he marched south, wresting from the Pallava king, Mahendra-varman I, in the battle of Pullalur, his northern provinces; crossing the Kaveri, Pulakesin befriended the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pandyas—traditional adversaries of the Pallavas; he built the Meguti temple at Aihole, and at the zenith of his power sent an embassy in 625 to the court of Khusru II, the Persian monarch. Then, in a prelude to a renewed campaign against the Pallavas, Pulakesin attacked their feudatories, the Banas, on the periphery of their kingdom, thereby provoking fierce battles with Narasimha-varman at Pariyala, Manimangala (20 miles off Kanchi) and Suramara, with disastrous results to the Chalukya ruler; Vatapi itself was occupied by the Pallavas, in ouster of the Chalukya power for some 13 years.

Its fortunes were retrieved, however, in 654 by Pulakesin's son, Vikramaditya I, in a restoration of his authority in the paternal dominions; he not only forced the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

retirement of the Pallavas from Badami, but he carried the battle right into the heart of their territory and claimed to have vanquished successively three of their kings—Narasimha-varman, Mahendra-varman II and Paramesvara-varman I, (although the last undoubtedly inflicted a decisive defeat on Vikramaditya at Peruvalanallur), and, in a culminating expedition, subjugated the Cholas, Pandyas and the Keralas in the South, becoming the lord of the peninsula bounded by the three oceans; he appointed his younger brother, Jayasimha-varman, viceroy of Lata or southern Gujarat, leading to the founding of yet another branch of the Chalukya dynasty. In the defence of his realm, Vikramaditya was ably seconded by his son, Vinayaditya (681-696), and by his son's son, Vijayaditya (696-733) who built the great Siva temple at Pattadakal after his own name, Vijayesvara, now known as Sangamesvara; incidentally he encamped at Hatampura (Alampur) in the twenty-second year of his reign.[65]

Vijayaditya's son, Vikramaditya II (733-744), is credited by an undated inscription at Pattadakal[66] of his queen, Loka-mahadevi, a Haihaya (Kalachuri) princess, of having thrice overrun Kanchi; to her is due the great Lokesvara (now called the Virupaksha) temple at Pattadakal, built by the famed architect, Sri Gundan Anivaritachari, 'the most eminent *sutradhari* (designer) of the southern country', in direct imitation of the Kailasanatha at Kanchi. To the south of the Vijayesvara, her sister, Trailokya-mahadevi, the mother of Kirti-varman II (744-745), son of Vikramaditya II, also erected the Trailokesvara, named after her, but this temple does not now exist. Kirti-varman II was the last of the early Chalukyas, but another son of Vikramaditya II, Bhima, was the ancestor of Taila II, who revived the Chalukyan dynasty at Kalyani in 973.

NOTES

1 Of Satavahana coins especially, discussed by M. Rama Rao: *Satavahana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (1961), and R. Subrahmanyam: 'A Unique Satavahana Coin' (*Journal of Osmania University, Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1968, p. 123).

2 Or Krishna-giri, 19 miles from Bombay. Its complex of 109 caves was hewn by Buddhist settlers, professing the Theravada doctrine, in the face of a single hill in the island of Salsette, from the first century to the eleventh, in a setting of scenic magnificence against the Arabian Sea.

3 The ancient Nasika or Nasikya, from which five miles away, the group of 24 Buddhist caves, known as the Pandu-lena, are cut on the north face of the Trirasmi hill. An inscription on Cave 19 refers to its excavation, by a Mahamatra (officer) of the monks resident at Nasik: *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, p. 93.

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 88.

5 Twenty-six miles by rail north-east of Bhopal and some six miles south-west of Vidisa, the old capital of Malwa. The celebrated *stupa* I is an Asoka foundation (273-232 B.C.), but the four magnificent gateways, in their sculptural exuberance of Buddhist legends and decorative reliefs, were added in the first century B.C.; of these the southern, the principal gateway, was the earliest erection (c. 35 B.C.).

6 *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, V, p. 60 f; D.C. Sircar: *Select Inscriptions*, p. 186 f.

7 Fifty miles north-west of Poona. One of the principal passes of the Western Ghats, leading to the fertile coastland of Konkan beyond, Nanaghat lies on the ancient trade-route to the important *entrepot* of Kalyana (Kalyan).

8 Near Renigunta, a junction on the Madras-Bombay railway, in the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh.

9 *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, p. 60 f.

10 Eight inscriptions belong to the reign of Pulamavi II—four from Nasik (Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 25 of *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII), two from Karle (*Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IV, pp. 107, 113), one from Amaravati (*Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, I, p. 100) and another from Dharanikota (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, pp. 256-258).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

[11] Three miles north of the Malavli railway station on the Poona-Bombay line. The great *chaitya*-hall at Karle, of the beginning of the second century, is the finest and the largest of the early Buddhist churches in India, cut 124 feet deep into the rock, with an imposing facade of beautifully sculptured figures, in pairs and groups, of a robust vitality; and a nave, lined with a splendid array of ornate columns, in two rows of 15, topped by riders astride horses and elephants in the round, leading to a domical apse for the *stupa*.

[12] The capital of the Satavahanas, the ancient Dhanyakataka (preserved in Dharanikota, a little to the west), on the right bank of the Krishna, 21 miles from Guntur in Andhra Pradesh. The great *stupa* goes back in its origin to the second century B.C., but the magnificently sculptured casing-slabs, panelling the dome in illustrations of the life of the Buddha and decorative embellishments, like the monumental railing, were additions of the second century A.D. At Amaravati the art of sculpture reached its apogee, in an effulgence not afterwards surpassed in India.

[13] An offshoot of the Nallamala range, located in the valley of Nagarjunakonda, 14 miles from Macherla in the Guntur district—now converted into a vast reservoir under the Krishna irrigation-project.

[14] *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 95–96.

[15] By the Bay of Bengal in the Repalle division of Guntur district, three miles from Motupalli, renowned as a trading post in the extensive maritime commerce during the reign of Yajna-Sri.

[16] On the Guntur-Repalle section of the railway, four miles from the right bank of the Krishna. The *stupa*, built entirely of solid brick and next only to that of Amaravati, was extensively despoiled, of its carvings especially; the remains, however, yielded the corporeal relics of the Buddha, encased in votive caskets, with inscriptions dateable by their script to the time of Asoka, c. 250 B.C. (*Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 323-329).

[17] The hill of thorns, the ancient emporium of Kantaka-saila, Ptolemy's *Ḳontakossyla* (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 66,68), in the sea-borne trade with Rome, attested by its gold coins and by the copper and lead coins of the Satavahanas with the ship motif, 13 miles from Machilipatnam (the Maisolia of Ptolemy) in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh. The great *stupa*, pillaged, is now bereft of its sculptured wainscoting and ornate railing, which survive only in a few lime-stone pillars, some of them inscribed with the characteristic decoration of the contemporaneous Amaravati style.

[18] The ancient Velagiri, on the northern bank of the Krishna, at a distance of four miles from its confluence with the Paler, almost opposite to Amaravati and 48 miles from Vijayawada. Of the *mahachaitya* (c. 200 B.C.), coincident with the early phase of Amaravati, sculptured fragments remain, the best of which, including the well-known Chakravartin Mandhata, are in the Madras Government Museum.

[19] Salipetaka of yore, located picturesquely on the crest of a hill overlooking the Vamsadhara, five miles from its passage into the Bay of Bengal at Kalingapatnam. The main *stupa*, about the second century, yielded three stone caskets, each enclosing a crystal reliquary with gold flowers; other remains, in clusters, are of structural *stupas*, some stone-cased, of which one contained four silver caskets in terracotta receptacles; apsidal, circular and oblong sanctuaries, and pillared *mantapas;* also a seated Buddha in brick and stucco.

[20] One mile south of Malavli railway station, directly opposite Karle, three miles north of it. The group of 22 excavations are on a hill dominating the valley of the river Indrayani, in a striking setting. The *chaitya*-hall, a close copy of a wooden prototype, is the earliest of its class and is dateable to the second century B.C.; in the 18th Cave, a *vihara*, are the famed compositions, representing Surya, driving in a four-horsed chariot with his two wives, and Indra, astride an elephant across a landscape struck by a storm, impeccably sculptured.

[21] Or Kondhana, three miles north-west of Thakurwadi station, between Karjat and Khandala, on the Bombay-Poona railway. The caves are excavated in bleak isolation on the face of a ravine in the Western Ghats, topped by the Rajmachi fort. The *chaitya*-hall, amidst its wreckage, projects a magnificent facade in literal imitation of a wooden form, revealing palpable affinities with Bhaja; but the sculptural embellishments at Kondane are more advanced, richer in the vigorous execution of the graceful human figures, of a date not earlier to the first century B.C.

[22] A picturesque sequence of caves, c. 150 B.C., hewn in a scarp of the Indhyadri range, difficult of access, some 50 miles north-west of Aurangabad, on the Chalisgaon road, in Maharashtra. The sanctuaries, *chaitya-grihas* (one of which, Cave 3, produced crystal reliquaries) and *viharas*, are executed in a plenitude of decorative reliefs, on their facades especially, without parallel

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in contemporaneous architecture. From the debris in the forecourt of Cave 4, the most imposing of the early Buddhist *viharas* excavated, were retrieved sculptured stones of *yakshas*, *dvara-palas* (door-keepers), whisk-bearers, winged figures and *mithunas* (amorous couples), of a mastery uncommon for their age.

23 The caves of Bedsa, about 175 B.C., lie 5½ miles north-west of Bhaja, on the south side of the same range of mountains, a trying climb of five miles from Kamshet railway station, after Malavi, on the Bombay-Poona section. The porch before the *chaitya*-hall, the principal sanctuary, is notable for its pillars in pairs (originally painted), each with an octagonal shaft rising from a pot-base and leading to a Persepolitan capital, a bell-shaped fluted lotus, supporting an abacus which features human riders, man and woman, across addorsed animals, horses, elephants and bulls, exquisitely carved. The vaulted *stupa* is remarkable for its drum in two stages, each provided with a railing.

24 The world-renowned caves of Ajanta are excavated in the crescent of a trap rock of a deep ravine in the Indhyadri hills, skirted by a stream descending in seven waterfalls, of great scenic beauty, some 60 miles north of Aurangabad. The 30 sanctuaries span the second century B.C. to the ninth century A.D., in an unparalleled coalescence of superb architecture, sculpture and painting. While the earliest *chaitya* Cave 10, was coeval in its paintings with the reliefs of Sanchi on its southern gateway, in a striking resemblance of the costumes depicted, the acme of the expression of Ajanta was reached, after a hiatus of four centuries, in the second half of the fifth century during the hegemony of the Vakatakas, exemplified by Cave 16, a monastery unmatched for its beautiful picture-galleries and sculptural magnificence. But the finest of the *chaitya*-halls at Ajanta is Cave 19, exquisitely proportioned and decorated elaborately from its facade to its nave, and notable alike for the excellence of its delicately carved figures. The celebrated frescoes (of Caves 1, 2, 16 and 17) achieve a high water-mark in emotive colour patterns, a rare plastic rhythm in their figure styles—like the Bodhisattva Padmapani and the 'Black Princess'—which influenced painting traditions of Sigirya (Sri Lanka) and Tung Huang in Central Asia. The caves were visited by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, about 640.

25 Forty-eight miles north of Poona, the rock-cut sanctuaries of Junnar, some 140 (c. first century B.C.), bespeaking an extensive monastic establishment, are distributed in five separate groups on four distinct hills, within three miles of the town, comprising the Tulja-lena (of which Cave 3, a circular *chaitya*-hall, ringed by 12 pillars, realises the double-roofed circular shrine of the Bharhut relief, the Sudharma Sabha), the Shivneri (the birth-place of Sivaji, the Mahratta warrior), the Bhuta-lena and the Ganesa-lena caves.

26 Twenty-eight miles from Eluru, in the West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh, in the horse-shoe of a hill overlooking a narrow ravine, was the Buddhist monastic establishment of Guntupalle, notable for its austere rock-cut caves (c. 200 B.C.), in two distinct groups—especially an incipient circular *chaitya*-hall, in a copy of a rounded primitive hut of thatch, with a ribbed domical chamber accommodating the *stupa*, the moulding on the arched doorway of the chamber recalling the facade of the Lomas Rishi cave in the Barabar hills of Bihar, near Gaya. Of particular interest also are a brick-built circular *chaitya* and *viharas* and monolithic *stupas* of various sizes.

27 One of whom, Vasishti-putra Vasusena, from a donative inscription in the temple of Ashta-bhuja-svamin at Nagarjunakonda, ruled briefly over the Ikshvaku territory about 278, in an interregnum, ousting its king, Ehavala Chantamula (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIV, pp. 197-204; *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1959-1960, p 54).

28 *Epigraphia Indica*, XV, 267.

29 The ancient city of Vengi is identified with the present Peddavegi, near Eluru. The *territory* of Vengi, however, was the region between the rivers Godavari and Krishna.

30 A hill-fort in the Guntur district, celebrated as the place where the epic hero, Rama, heard of the abduction of his wife, Sita.

31 Son of the emperor, Samudra-gupta, who was great alike in peace and in war, a man of remarkable personal accomplishments, poet and musician.

32 In the southern part of the Akola district of Maharashtra.

33 *South Indian Epigraphy Report*, 1914-1915, p. 91.

34 The caves of Ellora are excavated on the slopes of a hill 16 miles north-west of Aurangabad, comprising 12 Buddhist (450-650), 17 Brahmanical (7th century) and five Jain works. Of the Brahmanical group, the Ravan-ka-khai, or the abode of the demon king of the Ramayana,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is of exceptional interest to a study of Alampur—a recessed sanctum, with a pillared porch in front, of rows of columns of the vase and foliage pattern, the aisles on the sides extended to give access to the circumambulatory passage round the shrine; and, on each side of the entrance to the cella, carved *dvarapalas* and other images, the niches in the walls of the pillared hall adorned with exquisite figure compositions depicting the legends of Siva and Vishnu. The crowning glory of Ellora, however, is the Kailasa temple, 'the most stupendous single work of art' in India, with some of the finest sculpture anywhere, executed by the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna I (756-773), in obvious imitation of the early Chalukyan shrine to Papanatha at Pattadakal.

35 The nine Buddhist caves of Aurangabad, about two miles to its north, are cut in three groups in the steep scarp of a hill and consist of a *chaitya*-hall (of the second century) and (dating from the seventh) eight *viharas*—excavated pillared *mantapas* in fact, with a recessed shrine—approximating in their arrangements to the Brahmanical shrines of Ellora, the Ramesvara especially. The Aurangabad sanctuaries excel in the plastic treatment of their reliefs and massive sculptures in the round, of voluptuous deities with elaborate coiffures and a remarkable depiction of the Buddhist Litany, of supplicating votaries springing to life, surrounding the divinity.

36 Of the seven mid-eighth century excavations of Elephanta (or Gharapuri, 'the town of the rock'), some six miles from Bombay, the Great Cave features one of the finest reliefs, the magnificent colossal Trimurti, in a triple bust, representing Brahma (the Creator), Siva or Rudra (the Destroyer) and Vishnu (the Preserver), and bears, in its proportions and the distribution of its pillars, a significant resemblance to the Dumar Lena, the Brahmanical temple at Ellora. But Elephanta scores in the superiority of its majestic sculptures, quick with life; of such is the Ardhanarisvara, manifesting the male and female energies of Siva, a triumph of plastic art.

37 About three miles to the east of Vijayawada, the rock-cut excavations of Mogalarajapuram are notable for the incipient ornamentation of their facades by the *kudu* or dormer-window, the Buddhist *chaitya*-arch reduced and adapted as an element of embellishment, and the horned *dvarapalas* with lofty head-dresses, the precursors of the type generalised by the Pallavas in their early monuments.

38 The great rock-cut temple of Anantasayana at Undavalli, on the south of the Krishna opposite to Vijayawada, consists of an unfinished ground floor and four upper storeys in a pyramid of columned *mantapas*, rising to a sheer 50 feet, with a frontage of about 90. It is in the third storey, in a large pillared hall, that the gigantic image of Vishnu, reclining on the serpent Ananta is sculptured.

39 Twenty-eight miles to the north-west of Udayagiri in the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh, the rock-cut temples (of the seventh century) dedicated to Siva, stand at the end of a picturesque gorge, marking the beginning of the distinctive Pallava idiom—in the design of the facades of the caves, the elaboration of the column or 'order', with sedent lions at its base, and the panels of horned door-keepers, with the images of Brahma and Vishnu beside them in characteristic headgears. After the loss of their northern province of Vengi to the Chalukyas (c. 621), the Pallavas seem to have withdrawn to the tract of Bhairavuni-konda where their presence is recorded by its rock-temples.

40 At the sea-port of Mamallapuram (from Mahamalla, 'the great wrestler', one of the surnames of the Pallava monarch, Narasimha-varman) towards the mouth of the Palar river, 28 miles south of Madras, are hewn, about the seventh century, out of two rocky outcrops of granite, a series of ten *mantapas*, remarkable for the architectural treatment of their facades, the frameworks of mouldings for the statuary and the graceful pillars with heraldic lions, and also for the virtuosity of their magnificent reliefs of the *avataras* (incarnations) of Vishnu. The famed eight monoliths or *rathas*, replicas of existing temple types, preserved for the guidance of future builders, are striking in their adaptation of Buddhist *viharas* (in the Dharmaraja-*ratha*) and *chaitya*-halls, oblong or apsidal (in the Bhima, Sahadeva and Ganesa) to the exigencies of the evolving Hindu temple. And the exceptional rock-cut relief, an allegorical presentation of the Descent of the River Ganga, is a splendid realisation of the plastic art.

41 By the inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda (*Epigraphia Indica*, XX and XXI), a small hill, an offshoot of the Nallamala range of the Eastern Ghats.

42 Some 23 square kilometers in extent, Nagarjunakonda (so called from its association with the great Buddhist teacher) would seem, by the location of its excavated remains, to have been in three well-marked sections—the Buddhist *stupas* and *viharas*, the citadel with the edifices of royalty and the Brahmanical temples. Its priceless archaeological wealth lies irrevocably entom-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

bed in a deluge of the Krishna, save for a few monuments of consequence and limestone sculptures of outstanding beauty reconstructed or set up on the hill, transformed today into a lone island, sad witness of its great history.

43 One of the four sects of the unorthodox Mahasanghika school of Buddhism known at Nagarjunakonda; the others were the Mahavihara-vasins, the Mahishasakas and the Bahusrutiyas.

44 A projecting altar of the *stupa*, opposite each of its four entrances. The pillars were free-standing columns of dedicatory significance, fulfilling no architectural purpose however.

45 The Buddhist mother goddess, worshipped by childless women whose offerings of bangles, in propitiation of the deity, came out in large quantities in the excavation of the site.

46 *Epigraphia Indica*. XXVI, pp. 124-125.

47 Three miles from Rentachintala in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district, G. Jouveau-Dubreuil excavated in 1926 the *stupa* at Goli (of the third century by its inscription), decorated with exuberantly sculptured lime-stone slabs in panels depicting episodes from the life of the Buddha, in the style of Nagarjunakonda; the carvings are presently in the Madras Museum, except a frieze with the 'Ordination of Nanda' which found its way to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The remains speak to the existence of a *chaitya*-hall and a pillared *mantapa* at the site.

48 Six miles from Madira station on the Vijayawada-Hyderabad railway, on the spur of a hill off Gummadidurru or Ramireddipalli, was uncovered, besides smaller tumuli (one of which was enshrined in an apsidal *chaitya-griha*), a main *stupa* (of the second century), with *aryaka* projections at the four cardinal directions, and adorned on its drum by exquisite slabs representing the *stupa* itself in the Amaravati tradition, and horizontal friezes of the legends of the Buddha; the sculptures are housed today in the Amaravati Museum, but a carved piece was taken earlier to the Cincinnati Art Museum in the United States. To the north-west of the main *stupa* is a structural *chaitya*-hall in brick, with a stone-cased tumulus.

49 *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII, p. 87 f.

50 On the northern face of a small granite hill at Mandagapattu, 12 miles to the north-west of Villupuram railway station in the South Arcot district of Tamil Nadu, is excavated the first Pallava temple, dedicated to Siva, in style similar to that at Dalavanur (*post*), six miles south-west, the pillars and facade bare of ornament; at each extremity stands a *dvarapala* of fierce aspect in high relief, with a lofty head-dress, his left arm resting on a massive club and the right on the hip akimbo, in a stance characteristic of the door-keepers of the early Pallava monuments.

51 Half-way up the rock, on its southern face, at Tiruchirappalli, the cave temple has a facade of four cubical pillars, with lotus medallions and floriated ornament clearly fetched from the stone railing of the Amaravati *stupa*, and crowned by a bulbous finial; a panel in relief of Siva receiving the descending river Ganga, a precursor of the great composition at Mamallapuram, conceived as an integral part of the architectural matrix, is masterfully executed; and the *dvarapalas* are in the nascent Pallava style manifested at Mandagapattu and Vallam (*post*).

52 On a small hill two miles to the east of Chingleput (35 miles south of Madras) are located the three rock-cut temples of Vallam, the oldest of which was hewn by Skandasena, a vassal of Mahendra-varman, with bas-reliefs on either side of its facades, but its two cubical pillars are plain, without ornament. The door-keepers, in the characteristic early Pallava mode, are horned.

53 The small shrine to Vishnu, excavated on a free-standing boulder at Mahendravadi, three miles to the south-east of Sholinghur in the North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu, is stylistically related to Vallam, with which it was probably contemporaneous. The pillars, square in section, with the middle part chamferred off its corners, have lotus reliefs like those at Dalavanur, but the *dvarapalas* are rendered without their attendant clubs.

54 On the south side of a mound at Dalavanur, in the Tindivanam taluk of South Arcot district five miles to the west of Perani railway station on the Madras-Villupuram line, the shrine dedicated to Siva was, by its inscription, fashioned to the order of Mahendra-varman, from its deep-cut ornamentation, however, later than other monuments of his reign; the facade is adorned by a cornice moulding which is punctuated by dormer reliefs featuring the head of a Gandharva (celestial musician) and is notable chiefly for the double-arched *makara-torana* (crocodile design), carried over the top of the pillars, like those at Mahendravadi, embellished with lotuses; the left hand of the door-keeper, on either side of the sanctuary, is raised to his head in adoration.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

55 *South Indian Inscriptions*, pp. 148-149,

56 Two miles north-west of Uraiyur in the Lalgudi taluk of Tiruchirappalli district.

57 *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, p. 100.

58 *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, Inscription B4, p. 18.

59 N. Ramesan: *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad*, Vol. I. pp. 40-44.

60 Today a town in the Bidar district of Karnataka, once so beautiful that it surpassed, in the words of the poet Bilhana (11th century), all other cities of the earth.

61 *Indian Antiquary*, VI, p. 72.

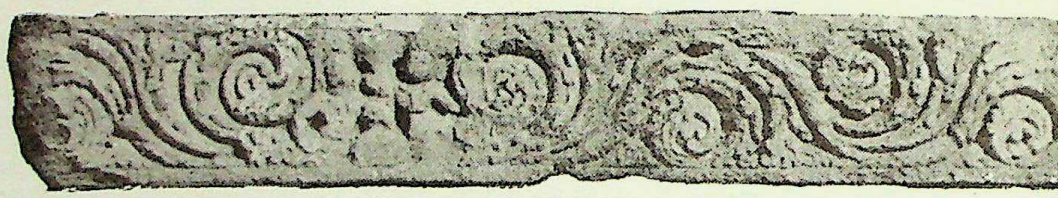
62 *Indian Antiquary*, XIX. p. 18.

63 *Indian Antiquary*, VIII, p. 237.

64 A ruler of tireless energy, Harsha engaged in constant warfare, gaining control of the most part of northern India, from Kathiawar to Bengal; a man of many parts, he was a poet of no mean order and a great patron of learning; Bana and Bhartrihari, revered in Sanksrit literature, lived at his court, which was visited by the Chinese Master, Hiuen Tsang.

65 *Journal of Bharat Itihas Samsodak Mandal*, Poona, I, pp. 1-6.

66 On the eastern gateway of the Virupaksha temple (*post*). *Indian Antiquary*, X, pp. 164-165.



TRANSMISSION OF INFLUENCES

I

Although not all of the Nava-Brahma temples of Alampur were contemporaneous in erection, their ascription to the Chalukyas of Badami is attested by epigraphic testimony: and the shrines are indubitably owed to the architectural impulses of the rock-hewn sanctuaries of the Deccan, as manifested in the earliest structural edifices of that dynasty at Aihole—Lad Khan,[1] Kont-gudi[2] Huchchimalli-gudi,[3] and Temple No. 9,[4] leading to the shrines of the *Nagara* (Indo-Aryan) order at Pattadakal —Papanatha,[5] Kasivisvanatha,[6] Galaganatha,[7] Kadisiddhesvara[8] and Jambulinga,[9] with which the Nava-Brahma cluster was almost coeval. This hypothesis will bear examination.

II

The *stupa*, which the imperial house of the Satavahanas proliferated, across its extensive dominions, at Sanchi, Amaravati, Ghantasala, Bhattiprolu, Jaggayyapeta, Salihundam and Kondapur,[10] was, in its origin, a domical tumulus of heaped earth

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(*chita*, whence *chaitya*, the variant of the *stupa*), enshrining some corporeal remain of the Buddha (or of a Buddhist saint). At Amaravati the typical sepulchre was established on a circular base, rising perpendicularly in a drum (*vedika*), with a protective casing of brick; the hemispherical vault (*anda*), in its lower part, was wainscoted with sculptured marble—bas-reliefs of the Buddhist faith and legend, glimpses of contemporary life, and, preciously, portrayals of the extant religious and secular architecture, now lost to us irretrievably, and of the *stupa* itself; the dome, in its upper part, was embellished with stucco reliefs of floral patterns and Buddhist devices, and mounted, at its apex, by a cubical coffer (*harmika*), and crowned by a finial of an umbrella (*chattra*), the emblem of supremacy. The *stupa* projected at its base at the four cardinal points in rectangular altars, supporting five votive monolithic pillars (*aryaka-stambhas*); and a processional path (*pradakshina-patha*), for the circumambulation of the worshippers, skirted the base, which was fenced, in a final adornment, with a balustrade (*prakara*), frequently carved with medallions of floral or animal designs, and opened by gateways (*toranas*) at the four directions.

The *chaitya*, not unlike the early Christian churches in arrangement, consisted of a nave and aisles at the sides, leading, in a horse-shoe passage, to an apse enclosing the *stupa*; at Bedsa the *chaitya* was fronted by an impressive portico, with octagonal pillars rising from pot-shaped bases and ending in fluted bells, and surmounted by abaci of animal figures or human riders; the simple ornamentation, in a significant anticipation of the mode of decoration of the future Hindu temple, was in a repetition of the architectural members of the *chaitya* itself, the window and the rail. The early *chaityas*, however, were singularly devoid of the representations of the Buddha himself; he figured, after the rising creed of the Mahayana allowed the anthropomorphic worship of the Master, on niches in the *stupa* or in the triforium, enthroned or standing in divers attitudes, in the monuments of later times—in the fourth century Caves 19 and 26 of Ajanta, of the Vakataka dynasty, successor to the Satavahana, characterised by a profusion of sculpture not always in keeping with the solemnity of the sanctuaries.

Not all of the *chaityas*, however, were rock-cut; those at Ter,[11] Chejerla,[12] Kondapur and Panigiri[13] were structural, built of brick, but not of dimensions as lofty or grandiose in design as the rock-hewn temples; like them the *chaitya*-halls of Ter and Chejerla once enshrined a *stupa*, at the apse; they had a barrel-vaulted (*gaja-prishta* or elephant-backed) roof, rounded at the rear and bringing up the entrance in the characteristic window-shaped gable; but they were converted in later epochs into Brahmanical shrines. Among the surviving inheritors of these types is the early Chalukyan sixth century Durga temple[14] at Aihole, modified only in its flat roof of stone and a spire (*sikhara*), in a later addition, over the *sanctum sanctorum* (*garbha-griha*); and the Nakula and Sahadeva *rathas* of the Pallavas at Mamallapuram, a century later, not structural, however, but rock-cut, in a reversion to the earlier mode.

In its conception a retreat for the monks, the early *vihara* or *sangharama*, exemplified by Cave 13 of Ajanta, was austerely organised at first in a plain central hall for the meditation of the brethren, with small cells on its three sides, barely furnished with a stone couch each for spartan living and opening by narrow doors, embellished by religious devices; some, like Caves 3 and 8 of Nasik, contemporaneous with the great *chaitya* at Karle, had larger halls, and a pillared porch for defence against the severities of the climate; and the addition of a shrine, at the back of the *vihara*, for the reception of the image of the Buddha, was the inevitable finale to the system, of which the third century Cave 4 of Ajanta is an example of restrained dignity.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

III

Of the scanty traces of free-standing Hindu temples before the Gupta period, the discovered remains of Brahmanical shrines of the Ikshvakus at Nagarjunakonda have vital import; built in brick and veneered with stone, the structures are revealed in types, oblong, apsidal and infrequently square, in single and multiple shrines of temple complexes, with *dhvaja-stambhas* (flag-staffs) facing them; of these one[15] at least was appointed with a tank of stepped masonry for ceremonial uses. The apsidal type is exemplified by the temple of Pushpabhadra-svamin,[16] and although no vestige remains of its superstructure, it had probably a barrel-vaulted roof (as the oblong and square types were most likely flat-roofed); and, in the precincts of the temple, bounded by a *prakara*, were subsidiary shrines—square, rectangular and circular—to the lesser deities. And, also importantly, the excavations disclosed another category of temples, as those dedicated to Kartikeya[17] (obviously affined to the *vihara*-caves), of a rectangular pavilion, comprising a like or square *garbha-griha*, for the installation of the divinity, and a pillared assembly hall (*mantapa*) in front, encompassed by a close pillared verandah; the flat roofing (of brick and plaster rather than of stone) of the central pavilion was presumably situated higher than the covering of the surrounding colonnade. This sometimes, in a modification of the type, instanced by the shrine of Sarvadeva[18] (synonymous with Siva), was probably left open. The pillared pavilion shrine at Nagarjunakonda was a water-shed in the evolution of the Hindu temple; the logical next step was inevitably the Lad Khan (about 450) at Aihole, which stands importantly at the threshold of Chalukyan architecture.

IV

Of the existence of antecedent structural shrines, attested by the inscriptions,[19] there can be no doubt however, the impermanent material of wood, clay or brick having evidently since perished; but the gaps are fortunately filled by the representations of religious and lay edifices in the Buddhist sculptures of Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, Nagarjunakonda, Gummadidurru and Goli.

All shrines are essentially built on plans of the square (*sthandila*) or the circle (*mandala*) or their derivatives, traced to the fire-altars of Vedic ritual; a rectangle is an elongation of the square, and the addition of a semi-circle to the rectangle makes the apsidal. Of the bas-reliefs, the Bodhigaras[20] and *Kutagaras*[21] from Amaravati and the *harmikas*[22] (from *harmya*, meaning a shrine) topping the *stupas*, are square in plan; the domed shrine[23] from Amaravati is of circular section; the *punyasala*[24] from Jaggayyapeta is of a temple on a rectangular plan; and the apsidal shrine of Pushpabhadra-svamin at Nagarjunakonda was corresponded in its ground-plan by the structural Buddhist *chaityas* in its vicinity.

The architectural significance of these carvings for the future Hindu temple is unmistakable. The reliefs disclose a basement adorned by running friezes[25] of animal motifs, of the lion, the elephant, the horse and the bull, becoming in the shrines of the succeeding Pallava,[26] Chola[27] and Hoysala[28] periods decorative bands of utter virtuosity; a *sopana* or tier of steps, leading from the basement into a pillared hall for the establishment of the icon; and, flanking the doorway of the sanctum, *dvarapalas* (gate-keepers), figuring as Nagarajas (serpent-kings) in the *stupas* of Amaravati,[29] Goli[30] and Nagarjunakonda; roofs (*sikharas*) barrel-shaped,[31] or domical[32] or polygonal, sporting a pattern of the *chaitya*-window in front and crowned by *kalasas*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(vases); barrel-topped gateways[33] from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, presaging the *gopuras* (watch-towers) of later times; casing slabs from Amaravati, featuring miniature multiples[34] of the *stupa* or the *chaitya*, forecasting the orchestration of the tower of the Hindu temple, in a repetition of its diminutive as an architectonic device. Other intimations in the Amaravati reliefs are of architectural motifs—the efflorescent lotus (*padma-kosa*),[35] sustaining the *stupa*, adapted as an essential feature of the foundation of the *garbha-griha* in the later Hindu shrine, and the *purna-kumbha*[36] or vase of abundance, brimming over with trailing flowers, from which the *kumbha-panjara*,[37] a concomitant element of the temple design, was doubtless sprung.

V

Of the basic pattern of the nascent structural temple, fourth century Gupta examples survive in the temple 17[38] at Sanchi, and at Tigawa[39] (near Jabalpur) and Eran[40]—a square or rectangle of a sanctum, preceded by a narrow porch with pillars, supporting, along its entire length, a flat roof of rectangular slabs of stone fitted by overlapping grooves; walls, save for a string-course in line with the architrave of the porch, severely bare of ornament, contrasting with the richly decorative pillars; and, a step or two, at the middle of the porch, giving access to the shrine. This system is corresponded, in the main, by the coeval rock-cut Brahmanical shrines of Udayagiri,[41] near Sanchi, already inclining in part, as respects the portico, to construction in stone, suggesting a structural translation of the precedent rock-hewn pattern, just as earlier the rock-cut mode was itself a meticulous rendering of an extant example in wood, clay or other medium, in a full circle of the wheel. At this stage in architectural evolution, the two expressions were manifestly reversible, suiting the medium to the exigencies of natural resources, climate or religious usage, rather than the one issuing out of the other.

In the next stage, the sanctum is a square inset in the larger square of the temple under a common roof, in a provision for a covered ambulatory around the cella; the larger square is preceded by a smaller open rectangular pillared portico, projecting in a flight of steps in front, in line with the doorways of the sanctum and the hall, lighted by trellises on its three sides. This stage is exemplified by the Parvati temple at Nachna-Kuthara,[42] in a transition from the first, the Siva temple at Bhumara,[43] and by the Lad Khan, the Kont-gudi (with its sanctum, however, built into the rear wall of the shrine, allowing circumambulation only on its outside), the Huchchimalligudi and the Meguti temples, at Aihole, in that order. Of these, the Jain temple of Meguti, erected, according to its inscription, by a Ravikirti in 634 in the reign of Pulakesin II, displays a delicacy and refinement not met with in the others, notably in the architectural organisation of its outer walls in decorative recessed niches for the reception of the elegant statuary.

The third stage differs little from the second in the formulation of the temple plan and is only distinguished by the addition of an aspiring *sikhara*, crowning the sanctum, a novelty dateable to the sixth century and manifested in the well-known Dasavatara shrine at Deogarh,[44] the brick temple at Bhitargaon,[45] the Mahadeva at Nachna-Kuthara, and, although, not related to them in plan or arrangement, in the Durga, Huchchimalli-gudi and the Temple No. 9 at Aihole.

The appearance of the tower in geographically separated contexts by no means connotes the influence of the Gupta practice on the Chalukyan shrines, of which really there is no evidence; the coincidental development in the two territories argues rather

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

an autochthonous and contemporaneous evolution of the towering member of the shrine from deep-rooted trends, as a natural and inevitable projection from basically common temple patterns.

NOTES

[1] The oldest temple at Aihole, of the fifth century; a flat-roofed rectangular pavilion of two square groups of pillars providing a double aisle all round, with walls of latticed stone-slabs set between massive pilasters supporting bracket capitals; a sanctum at the rear detached from the back wall (as at the Durga, Huchchimalli-gudi, and Meguti at Aihole *infra*), making for circumambulation (*pradakshina*) within the shrine; and a supplementary storey of a square cella of later date, opening by a porch.

[2] Like the Lad Khan, the Kont-gudi is square in plan, but smaller, with the *garbha-griha* built into the rear wall of the shrine, permitting *pradakshina* only on the outside. Its simple Indo-Aryan *sikhara* was added later, about the 10th century.

[3] In plan like a basilica, the Huchchimalli-gudi consists of a rectangular hall, divided into a nave and aisles by a double row of pillars, with an ambulatory carried around the square sanctum separate from the back wall; before the cella an incipient *antarala* or vestibule, a kind of *pronaos*. A late addition, like those of the Durga and the Temple No. 9 (*post*), the spire, rising directly from the *garbha-griha*, recalls that of the Parasuramesvara at Bhuvanesvara.

[4] In Field 270, to the south-west of Aihole, the Temple No. 9 is of the same massive pattern as the Huchchimalli-gudi, but with its sanctum separated from the hall, niches for images round the walls and a late *sikhara* featuring the usual *tandava* (dance of Siva), curvilinear rather than straighter in profile.

[5] By its inscription, built about 650 by Chattara Revadi-Ovajja, the ornate Papanatha temple bears the true *Nagara* spire in bloom, but is otherwise in plan not very different from the great Virupaksha, with the Dravidian *sikhara*, which superseded it; the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types, in their origin, were structured from the same stock of architectural devices. In the solidity of its interior, however, in its massive walls and pillars, the manifest influence of the Papanatha was the rock-cut, which also determined the arrangement of its architectonic sculpture in decorative bas-reliefs under repetitive canopied niches, corresponding to the form of its *sikhara*, in a deliberate unity of effect.

[6] A small shrine, with a *Nagara* tower, north of the Mallikarjuna temple at Pattadakal.

[7] To the north of the Sangamesvara stands the ruined Galaganatha to Siva, of late seventh century, its curvilinear spire resting immediately on the four walls of the sanctum and the channelled lotiform quoins repeated in shape in the bulbous finial for an integrated architectural result. This was the most proximate model for the towers of Alampur.

[8] Outside Pattadakal, a compact temple, with an Indo-Aryan *sikhara*, and images in niches in the outer walls, relieved by elegant latticed windows.

[9] A small temple to the west of the Galaganatha, with a spire in the *Nagara* style, featuring the *tandava* on its front.

[10] At Kondapur, in the Medak district of Andhra Pradesh, 43 miles north-west of Hyderabad, were excavated well-planned Buddhist establishments—two *stupas*, one free-standing and another with surrounding cells, two small *chaitya*-halls and underground chambers. From the discovery of a gold coin of the Roman emperor Augustus (37 B.C. to 14 A.D.) at the site, it was probably one of the 30 walled towns of the Andhra race mentioned by Pliny (57). Among the finds of terracotta figurines were those of Hariti, the mother-goddess, the Bodhisattva and the Yaksha, Kubera.

[11] The 'Tagara' of Ptolemy, a station on the Kurduwadi-Latur branch of the South Central Railway, 12 miles north-east of Osmanabad.

[12] A village 15 miles west of Narasaraopet in the Guntur district. The *chaitya-griha*, appropriated to Brahmanical usage, is now known as the Kapotesvara, surrounded by a number of stone-cut votive shrines of the *Nagara* order.

[13] In the Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh, 30 miles from Jangaon station on the Hyderabad-Kazipet railway line, at Panigiri, on the top of a hill 350 feet high, were discovered the extensive remains of a Buddhist complex, of Satavahana times, some 2,000 years ago—*stupas*,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

chaitya-halls and monasteries. The sculptures located include fragments of a railing with spirited animal motifs, of elephants and bulls in combat, *ganas* (dwarfs), Kubera and torsos of other vigorously executed personalities.

14 Closely analogous to the example at Ter, the Durga temple (sixth century) is the Brahmanical re-statement of the *chaitya-griha*, with a portico on its eastern front, giving access to the hall through a vestibule; the structure stands on a stereobate of many decorated horizontal courses, with a colonnade of a peripheral verandah going round the building in an ambulatory; the flat-roof of the nave is raised higher than the aisles, and stone-grilles, square or circular, light up the hall and the processional path. The *Nagara sikhara* over the apse is straight and not curvilinear as in the later examples.

15 Site 122 (H. Sarkar and B. N. Misra: *Nagarjunakonda*, p. 27), close to the Pushpabhadra-svamin and within a stone's throw from the storeyed Sarvadeva (*infra*).

16 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1956-57, p. 36; *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIV, pp. 19-29.

17 Known variously as Skanda, Kumara, Visakha and Mahasena; the son of Siva. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1956-57, p. 36; Pl. LXIII, C.

18 *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIII, pp. 147-149.

19 The British Museum plates of Charudevi (*Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 1-10), mentioning the Kulimahataraka temple of Bhagavan Narayana; the Uruvapalli plates of Yuvaraja Vishnugopa (*Indian Antiquary*, V, pp. 50-53), speaking to the shrine of Vishnuhara, and the Gorantla plates of Attivarman (*Indian Antiquary*, V, pp. 102-103,) referring to the god Sambhu of Vankesvara. Also, D.C. Sircar: *Select Inscriptions*, 291.

20 A Bodhi tree surrounded by a temple (C. Sivaramamurti: *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, pp. 134, 180; Pl. XLIII, fig. 1 c; Pl. XV, fig. 1, a multi-storeyed *vihara* or monastery around a *vriksha* (tree)-*chaitya*, suggestive of the tiered *sikhara*); J. Burgess: *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Pl. XXXI, 2; A. K. Coomaraswamy; *Eastern Art*, II, Pl. CXXXII, fig. 34.

21 From *kuta*, a peaked top, a domed building, resembling a tower (C. Sivaramamurti: *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 132; Pl. XXIV, fig. 1; Pl. XI, fig. 7).

22 Douglas Barrett: *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, Pl. I (a), (b); Pl. II; Pl. IV.

23 A. K. Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 145.

24 *Ibid.* fig. 142.

25 C. Sivaramamurti: *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*: Pl. XVI, fig. 4; Pl. LIX, fig. 1; Pl. XXI, fig. 2; Douglas Barrett: *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, Pl. XIX; Pl. XXII; Pl. XXXVIII (a) and (b).

26 C. Sivaramamurti: *Early Eastern Chalukyan Sculpture*, Plate III, fig. (b).

27 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri; *The Cholas* (1955), Pl. XXXIII, fig. 86.

28 *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1929, Pl. 1.

29 C. Sivaramamurti: *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Pl. LXI, fig. 1.

30 T. N. Ramachandran: *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli*, Pl. I (a); Pl. IV (j).

31 A. K. Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 142.

32 *Ibid.* fig. 145.

33 C. Sivaramamurti: *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Pl. XI, fig. 3.

34 *Ibid.* Pl. LIX, fig. 2; Pl. XXI, fig. 2. While a *Nagara* temple displays an unvarying repetition of its own type, the Dravida *sikhara* features likenesses of three types of shrines—the square (*kuta*), the oblong (*sala*) and the apsidal (*gajaprishta*).

35 C. Sivaramamurti: *Amaravati Sculptures* in the *Madras Government Museum*, Pl. LXI, fig. 1. For the translation of the device of the *padmakosa* in the Koranganatha (Chola) temple at Srinivasanallur, see P. R. Srinivasan: *Beginnings of the Traditions of South Indian Temple Architecture*, p. 19, fig. 22.

36 J. Burgess: *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Pl. XLVII, figs. 1 and 2.

37 P. R. Srinivasan: *Beginnings of the Traditions of South Indian Temple Architecture*, p. 17, fig. 20.

38 A little modest shrine, no more than a simple square chamber, of closely joined plain ashlar slabs preceded by a columned portico, a continuous flat roof enclosing the cella and the porch; classical in its proportions and purposeful.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

[39] The flat-roofed Kankali Devi temple at Tigawa is of design identical to the Temple 17 at Sanchi.

[40] The Narasimha, Vishnu and Varaha shrines at Eran, in the Saugor district of Madhya Pradesh, of which the last two are rectangular in plan.

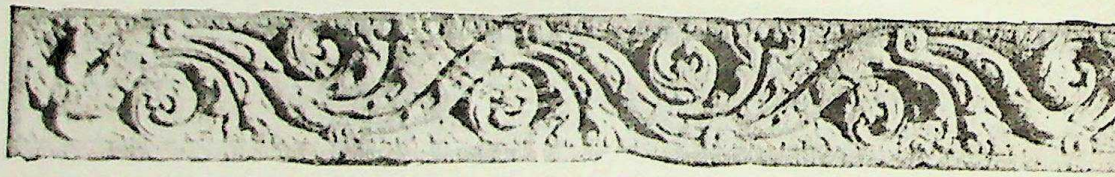
[41] Comprising nine cells in a sandstone hill, partly rock-hewn and partly stone-built, adapted out of a natural ridge of rock.

[42] About 500, in the erstwhile Ajaigarh state in Madhya Pradesh, a square structure on a like platform, embracing a smaller sanctum, with a covered *pradakshina-patha*, and extended in the fore part in an access, reached by a short flight of steps; and, on either side of the ornate doorway, panels of spirited sculpture. Above the cella is an upper storey, as at the Lad Khan at Aihole, set back from the enclosing hall.

[43] Of the first half of the sixth century, in the former Nagod state in Madhya Pradesh: a sanctum surrounded by a larger chamber with a flat slab-roof, supplying a processional path indoors, and an attached porch in front, featuring a miniature shrine on either side; ornate sculptures of divinities in exquisitely fashioned niches of *chaitya*-windows and exuberant arabesques on pillars and doorways.

[44] Near Lalitpur, in the Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh, of the beginning of the sixth century. A square sanctum, with a straight-edged pyramid of a *sikhara* in several storeys, which at one time rose to a sheer 40 feet in height on a majestic basement, embellished with panels illustrating the Ramayana and projecting in porticos on each side, approached by a broad flight of steps; a richly carved entrance, with reliefs of the river goddesses, door guardians and voluptuous female divinities, matched by vigorous sculptured panels on the other three sides.

[45] In the Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh, the ruined temple of Bhitargaon, of the fifth century, is established on a square plan, with double recessed angles and double cornices, over which the pyramidal brick tower rises to a height of 70 feet, with tiers of *chaitya*-niches, framing the heads of divinities, in horizontal courses. The recessed square sanctum is connected to a smaller vestibule by a barrel-vault, and the exterior walls are embellished with terracotta panels of Brahmanical themes, exquisitely rendered..



ALAMPUR

The history of Alampur, as elsewhere, is entwined with legend, sanctified by the topographical account (*sthala-purana*), assuming in the consciousness of believing ages the dimensions of unquestioned reality. One tradition,[1] however, is notable, not for its authenticity, but for its delineation in stone on a pillar of the *Maha-dvara* to the Nava-Brahma shrines. These were built, according to the synoptic bas-reliefs, by a Rasa-Siddha[2] by the grace of the gods; the reigning monarch, an atheist, led an expedition for the destruction of the temples, but, cursed by the Siddha, lost all his

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

army and wealth; then the king betook himself in repentance to a forest where a deer exhorted him to reconstruct the temples in atonement for his sins. The sculpture, however, is not otherwise meritorious.

Epigraphically, the antiquity of Alampur[3] is dated by an inscription[4] of the fourth regnal year of the Ikshvaku king, Rudrapurushadatta (295-306), recording the gift of land by one Nodukasiri to the god of Halampura; its history is attested by other epigraphs of the succeeding dynasties.

Those of the Chalukyas of Badami are of primal importance as they fix with certitude the chronology of the Nava-Brahma temples, apart from their architectural style; the earliest discovered yet[5] is of the queen (*maha-devi*) of Vikramaditya I (655-680) on a pillar of the Arka-Brahma, referring to the establishment of its *linga*; another inscription in the Svarga-Brahma[6] registers its construction by a Lokaditya-Ela-Arasa in honour of the *maha-devi* of Vinayaditya (680-696); a third, on a slab from the wall of the citadel,[7] reports the erection of the *prakara* (surrounding wall), presumably of the Bala-Brahma, at the instance of Vijayaditya in his 18th regnal year (704) and dedicated to the worshipful Isanacharya-svamin.

The succeeding Rashtrakuta monarchs are not themselves represented in the epigraphs at Alampur. One, however, of the first regnal year of Dharavarsha,[8] a title assumed by Dhruva (780-792) of the Malkhed line, inscribed on the *Maha-dvara*, refers to its construction by a Bala-varman[9] who also rewarded the architects—Ayya-nachari, Sridharovaja and Punnavoyaja[10]—by gifts of land and made elaborate arrangements for the feeding of a thousand persons at the festival of Maharnavami. A mutilated inscription[11] in the Alampur Museum of the reign of Prabhutavarsha[12]—an honorific which three[13] Rashtrakuta sovereigns of the name of Govinda gave themselves, but here more appropriately referable to the third (793-814), in the context of the preference of his successors for the Jain faith—records the establishment by one Srimara of the shrine of Surya in the temple of Uttaresvara.

The inscriptions of the next dynasty, the Chalukyas of Kalyani, do not indeed register any constructional activity among the Nava-Brahma temples, bespoken, however, by their sculptural and architectural characteristics; but the epigraphs are replete with the benefactions of royalty, the feudatories and other dignitaries for the maintenance of the shrines.

The lithic records of 'Trailokyamalla' Somesvara I (1051, 1057 and 1067)[14] refer to Pancha-rasi Bhattaraka, the *Maha-sthanadhipati* (the great superintendent) of the Brahmesvara, to whom, at the instance of the king's feudatories (*Maha-mandalesvaras*), Irugana Chola and Chiddana Chola, the income from designated tolls and gold was gifted by their officers. And, an undated inscription[15] from the village of Itikyal, in the vicinity of Alampur, registers a gift of land by Irugana Chola for the feeding of the Kalamukha[16] ascetics in the monastery of Siddha Somesvara. And, epigraphs of the time of 'Bhuvanaikamalla' Somesvara II record benefactions to the Brahmesvara, received by its *Maha-sthanadhipati* Brahma-rasi Bhattaraka, among others, of an endowment of land by Chiddana Chola (1073)[17] and the income from the Vaddaravula tax by the chief functionary (Dandanayaka) Naranamayya (1076).[18]

Inscriptions of gifts to the Brahmesvara of the reign of 'Tribhuvanamalla' Vikramaditya VI are legion; by his feudatory, Malla-Chola—endowments of land (1078)[19] and of a village to the *Maha-sthanadhipatis*, *Somesvara-rasi* Bhattaraka (1080)[20] and Brahma-rasi Bhattaraka (1097).[21] for the deity; an inscription (1085)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

on the outer wall of the temple[22] recording a gift; another endowment[23] to the 'Brahmesvara of Hatampura' (in a confirmation of its identity with Alampur) by the senior queen, Abhinava Parvati Manna-devi (1101); the gift of the village of Chillara[24] on the Tungabhadra by the queen Malayamati-devi (1103) to the *Sthanadhipati*, Moni-Pandita; grants of land to the deity, Madhava, of the *Mahasthana* of Brahmesvara[25] by the entire assembly of the public of Anampur (Alampur) (1106); endowments of five villages—Undaveli, Baruveli, Gudiyuru, Kadamburu and Vaddamanu[26]—to *Maha-sthanadhipati Dharanindra-rasi* Pandita by the chief queen Abhinava Sarasvati, the title of Chandala-Devi (1107); and another gift received by him from the feudatory, Mallarasa, of the income from the taxes and fines from the village of Kandanavole (Kurnool)[27] on the Tungabhadra (1107).

The reign of the Kalachuris at Alampur is attested by an epigraph (1192) on a pillar in the Suryanarayana temple there of the time of Ahavamalla, son of Bijjala, recording the gift of income from tolls by the representatives of the trading corporations and business centres of Tumbala, Gobbur, Maddur and Alampur, assembled in conference, to the god Gavaresvara;[28] the benefaction was accepted by *Kesava-rasi*, the *Sthanapati*.

An inscription of the Kakatiya king, Prataparudra (1299)[29] records the gift of land and of a tank to the same deity by a number of merchants, princes and the *Maha-sthanadhipati* of the Brahmesvara.

An epigraph of 1521[30] registers the endowment of two villages, Chennunipadi and Velampadu, to Bala-Brahmesvara at the instance of Gaura-danayamkara Basavappayya, who was invested with the authority of *Amara-dandanayaka* over the Alampuru-*seema* (territory) by Krishna Deva Raya, the emperor of Vijayanagara, after his subjugation of Raichur (1520).

A copper plate grant, also of the time of Krishna Deva Raya (1526),[31] attests the gift of the village of Chennupalli of Alampuru-*seema* by Chinna Peddi Naidu who was made its Palegar (chieftain) by Krishna Deva Raya, for the *anga-ranga-vaibhava* (personal splendour) of the Nava-Brahmesvaras. The inscription is significant for the specification of the names of the Nava-Brahma temples, as they are known today.

Alampur was the situs of the famed university of Brahma-puri (the city of the Brahmas), and its professors, Trilochana Muninatha Pandita and Ekanta Desikadi Pandita, were renowned, honoured by kings and queens and the flourishing commercial syndicates.

POSTSCRIPT

On the southern wall of the *prakara* of the Bala-Brahma is inscribed a verse[32] declaring that a person should not be born in a family where the god Sambhu (Siva) is not worshipped.

NOTES

[1] G. Ramakrishna Sarma : *Sri Brahmesvara Kshetra Mahatmyam*, pp. 40-46.

[2] A master in the curative uses of medicinal herbs.

[3] Spelt variously in the inscriptions—'Alampura'. (P. Sreenivasachar and P. B. Desai: *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, I, p. 36; II, p. 121); 'Halampura' (*Ibid*, I, p. 32; II, p. 103); and 'Anampura' (*Ibid*, I, p. 39; II, p. 127).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

4 Discovered at Gurazala in the Guntur district, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVI, pp. 124-125.

5 M. Radhakrishna Sarma: *Area under Srisailam Project to be Submerged*, p. 50.

6 Above the image of the *dvara-pala*. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1959-60, p. 60.

7 P. Sreenivasachar and P. B. Desai: *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, I, p. 38; II, pp. 124-125. The contents of this inscription are digested fragmentarily in another epigraph on the same slab.

8 Literally, the profuse 'rainer' of blessings and favours; another title assumed by him was. 'Nirupama', the Incomparable.

9 Obviously a feudatory or chieftain, as he is stated, by another inscription (G. Ramakrishna Sarma: *Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 12) of the reign of Dhruva on the *Maha-dvara*, to have vanquished the Vengi, Chola and Kalinga kings, presumably for his Rashtrakuta overlord.

10 Also, interestingly, an inscription beside the image of the divine, Abhinava Trilochanadeva Muninatha Pandita, in the Bala-Brahma names the sculptor, Malloja, son of Gonnoja. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1959-60 p. 57.

11 P. Sreenivasachar and P. B. Desai: *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, I, p. 35; II, p. 117.

12 Synonymous with 'Dharavarsha', with the same connotations.

13 Govinda II, Govinda III and Govinda IV.

14 P. Sreenivasachar and P. B. Desai: *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, I, p. 33; II, pp. 106-107; I, p. 35; II, pp. 114-116.

15 *Ibid*, I, p. 32; II, pp. 104-105.

16 A fanatical Saiva sect given to grisly practices; the scholarly took the suffix *rasi* to their names, and the Brahmesvara was administered by distinguished members of the order—Dharanindra-rasi, Vaitaranindra-rasi; Brahma-rasi, Somesvara-rasi, Kesava-rasi, Sova-rasi, Isana-rasi and Vidya-rasi.

17 P. Sreenivasachar and P. B. Desai: *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, I, p. 35; II, pp. 117-118.

18 *Ibid*, I, p. 32; II, pp. 103-104.

19 *Ibid*, I, p. 34; II, pp. 110-111.

20 *Ibid*, I, p. 33; II, pp. 107-108.

21 *Ibid*, I, pp. 35-36; II, pp. 118-119.

22 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1959-60, p. 59.

23 P. Sreenivasachar and P. B. Desai: *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, I, p. 38; II, p. 125.

24 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1959-60, p. 57.

25 P. Sreenivasachar and P. B. Desai: *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, I, p. 39; II, pp. 126-127.

26 *Ibid*, I, pp. 33-34; II, pp. 108-110.

27 *Ibid*, I, p. 38; II, pp. 125-126.

28 *Ibid*, I, p. 37; II, p. 123.

29 P. Sreenivasachar: *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions*, Part II, pp. 167-168.

30 P. Sreenivasachar and P. B. Desai: *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, I, p. 34; II, pp. 111-113.

31 G. Ramakrishna Sarma: *Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 146-147.

32 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1959-60, p. 60.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TOPOGRAPHY

The Nava-Brahma shrines are located in a walled fortress of stone, with 30 bastions, defended by the Tungabhadra on the west and a surrounding moat on the other three sides; in the centre of the fort stands the Bala-Brahma; through the *Maha-dvara*, on the left is the Taraka-Brahma, but its identification has been doubted, although the diggings have not yet come up with the vestiges of a shrine of this name, if lost by vandalism or the flood-waters; to the great gateway on its right the Svarga-Brahma towers over the Padma-Brahma to its west; to the south-east of them lies the Garuda-Brahma, adjacent to the Bala-Brahma; to its north are the Kumara-Brahma, and, in a series, to the west, the Arka-Brahma, Veera-Brahma and Visva-Brahma.

Unrelated to the Nava-Brahma complex, a mile to the south, is Papanasanam, a group of 22 shrines in the Dravidian order, of the ninth century, with stepped pyramidal *sikharas*, a reference gallery of existing temple types; one of these is apsidal.

The Alampur Museum, behind the Kumara-Brahma, is a treasure-house of sculptures, assembled from the Nava-Brahma sanctuaries, Papanasanam and the outlying temples—importantly, Kudali-Sangamesvaram.

Of the topographical accounts of the Nava-Brahma shrines, apart from the original *Sanat Kumara-Samhita* (collection) of the *Skanda-purana*, the most celebrated is the *parvata-prakarana* (chapter) of the *Panditaradhya Charitra* by the Telugu poet, Palkurki Somanatha, of the twelfth century; Bhairava's undated *Anandakanda* also carries a brief description.

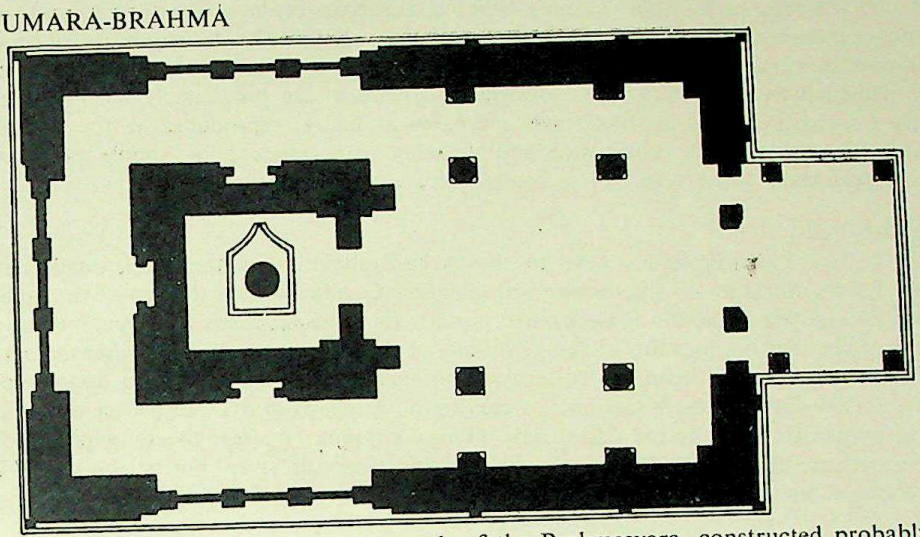
THE TEMPLES

TARAKA-BRAHMA

Architecturally, the oldest (provisionally) of the Nava-Brahma temples, the Taraka-Brahma is, in its general design, Chalukyan, although bespeaking Pallava influences; it is established on an elevated *adhishtana* (platform) and consists of a square sanctum, fronted by a porch, whose pillars are inscribed in the Telugu characters of the sixth or seventh century; for the reception of the deity, now lost, there is a niche in the sanctum, and on its lintel a carving of *pralamba-pada* Gajakshmi,[1] a Pallava index; flanking the doorway are the conventional Ganga-Yamuna[2] figures and to their right, at the top, a seated Ganesa, shaped like a garland; and on the door-jambs (*sakhas*) dwarfs, vertically set, playing musical instruments. The dilapidated spire is two-storeyed, decorated with the architectural members of the Dravidian order—the *sala* (shrine), *kudu* (dormer window) and *panjaram* (pavilion), and at its base to the east is a *suka-nasika* or *chaitya*-arch, housing an attended deity. The walls of the shrine are bare of ornament, save for a narrow *koshta* (niche) in the middle of each.

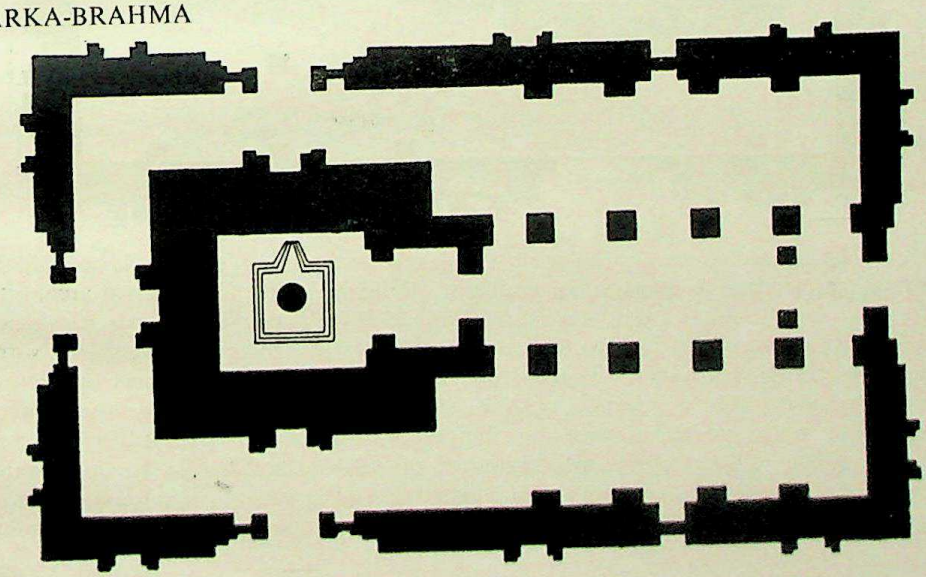
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KUMARA-BRAHMA



The Kumara-Brahma, to the north of the Brahmesvara, constructed probably after the Taraka-Brahma, registers the emergence of the Chalukyan style in its own right, in a liberation from the Pallava idiom. This is manifested in its every part—in the three-storeyed spire, its *amalaka* (fluted capital), the *mantapa*, the portico and the pillars. The walls of the temple, organised on a platform, project a central pavilion with an aisle, lighted by perforated screens; the doorway of the *mantapa*, except for seven repetitive human faces on its lintel, is practically without decorative sculpture, Ganga and Yamuna or of *dvara-palas*; but the four pillars in the porch, reared on a *poorna-ghata* (vase of plenty) or a Gaja-Lakshmi, are vividly sculptured, with semi-lotus designs, floral scrolls and legends from the Puranas. In the *mantapa* to one side is a long monolithic carving of the *Sapta-matrukas*[3], and opposite to the plaque an apsidal shrine in miniature. The walls of the temple are plain in their exteriors, wholly devoid of *artha-mantapas* (pavilions) which are a characteristic feature of the evolving Chalukyan style.

ARKA-BRAHMA



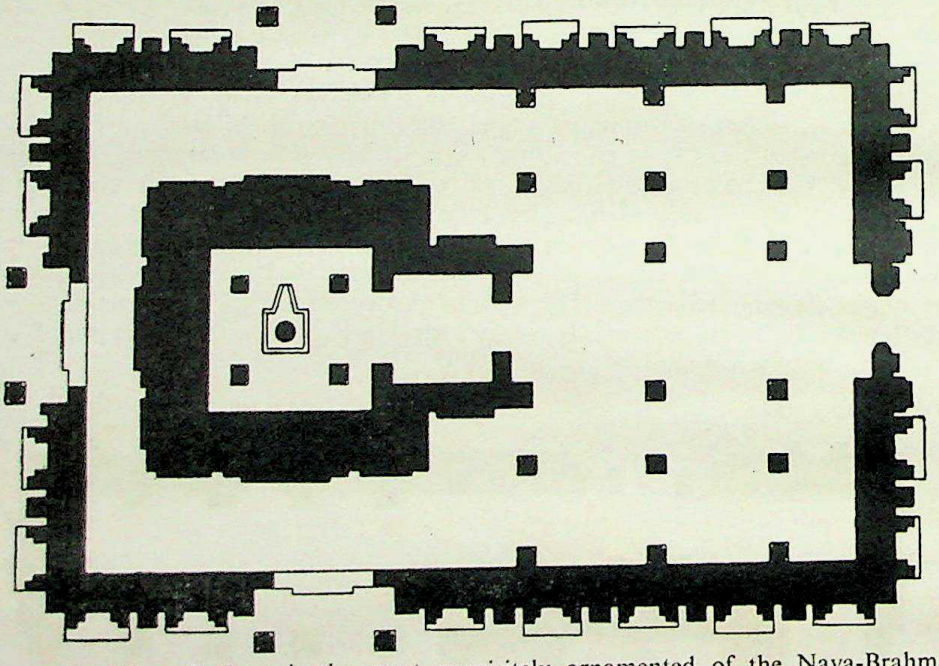
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

To the north of the Kumara-Brahma, the Arka-Brahma has been reconstructed in the interior, after its devastation by bigots who totally destroyed its *sikhara*; the main entrance, guarded by eroded *dvara-palas*, opens into a *mantapa*, bereft of ornamentation; its pillars, featuring lotus medallions, are proximately derived from the massive examples in the Satavahana caves at Nasik, reproduced in the bas-reliefs of Amaravati; the outer walls of the temple are relieved by simple pavilions and perforated screens, but of sculpture there is none.

VEERA -BRAHMA

The Veera-Brahma, next to the Arka-Brahma, is, in the main, unadorned but for the floral scrolls alternating with amatory Gandharvas on the top of the outer walls; these are without any decorative porches or *artha-mantapas* however, but have only niches for the location of the guardians of the eight quarters (*Ashta-dikpalakas*).[4] The principal entrance on the eastern wall is guarded by the traditional door-keepers; on the lintel of the sanctum is a carving of Alingana-murti,[5] an aspect of Siva, and on the door-jambs the customary Ganga-Yamuna figures; the lofty pillars of the *mantapa* are plain. The *amalaka* is missing from the spire, but its *suka-nasika* features a spirited Nataraja.

VISVA-BRAHMA



The Visva-Brahma is the most exquisitely ornamented of the Nava-Brahma shrines, resplendent in its carvings, and probably named after its principal architect, like the Veera-Brahma. As it stands, the Visva-Brahma is devoid of a porch, which, however, may have been lost, as the exterior walls of the temple are punctuated with matching *artha-mantapas*. The main doorway is flanked by the figures of Ganga and Yamuna, and a Garuda, coiled by a serpent, brings up the lintel. The outer walls are embellished by images of the *Ashta-dikpalakas*, while the *koshtas* of the deities alternate with sculptures of *mithunas* and female fly-whisk-bearers (*chamara-grahinis*); there are renderings from the Puranas—the ten (*dasa*)—*avataras*[6] (incarnations) of Vishnu; the battle of Gaja-Katchapa,[7] Nataraja, the descent

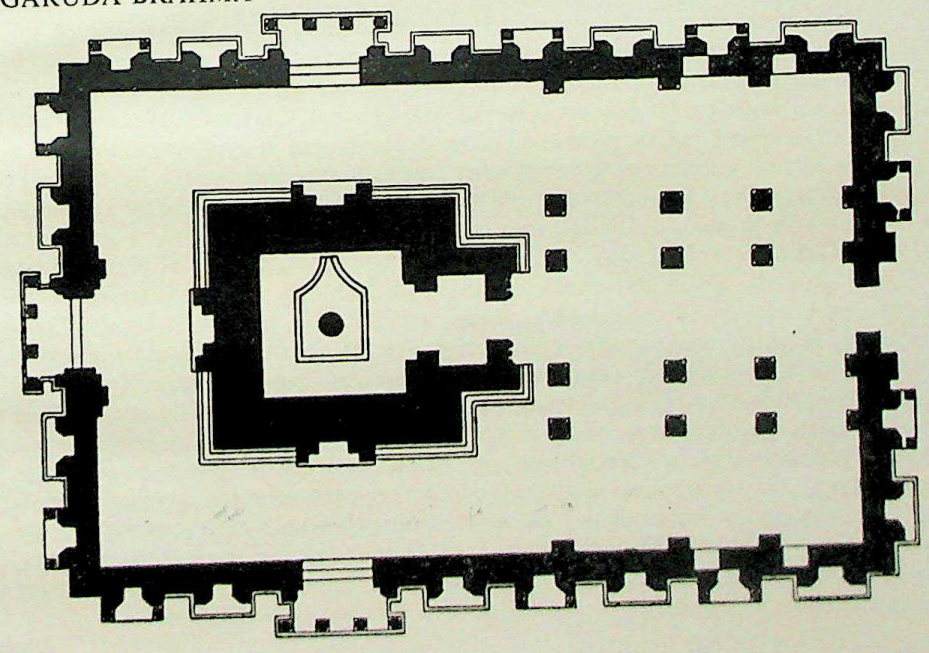
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the Ganga, Trivikrama[8] and the romantic episode of Varudhini and Pravara,[9] which may have inspired the great Telugu poem, *Manu-charitra*, of Allasani Peddana, the laureate of the court of Krishna Deva Raya, who accompanied the king to Alampur after his conquest of Raichur; at the base of the walls, on their exteriors, are scintillating animal studies and scenes from everyday life, reflecting the moods of men and women, and, at the top, Yaksha-Gandharva amorous couples and *apsaras* (nymphs). The pillars in the hall have addorsed lions at their base.

BALA-BRAHMA

The Bala-Brahma, the principal shrine of the Nava-Brahma cluster, devoted to Brahmesvara, is indeed a complex of lesser deities as well. The figures of Brahma and Ardha-narisvara[10] adorn the main entrance; on its lintel a carving of Gaja-Lakshmi, in the niches the *Ashta-dikpalakas,* and on the doorway of the sanctum images of Mundika and Chandika (manifestations of Sakti), and a spacious aisle for circumambulation. The *mantapa,* as well as the outer walls of the temple, were built in 702 by Vinayaditya Satyasraya; on either side of the *mantapa* are lesser shrines—to the north the Trimurtis (the Hindu Trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara) and to the south Jogulamba,[11] and in an adjacent chamber the *Sapta-matrukas*, sculptured separately, and not, as usual, carved together on one plaque, and an image of Vighnesvara. In the *koshtas* of the wall, beside the *matrukas*, are the deities—Mahishasura-mardani,[12] Pradosha-murti,[13] Kumarasvami,[14] Kala-Bhairava[15] and Lakulesa[16] and, in the inner circumambulatory, Indra, Alingana-murti, Ganapati, Surya and Kumara, Mahesa-murti,[17] Ardhanari and Nataraja. In the front of the Bala-Brahma is a small shrine to Bhoodevi, the Earth goddess, and in the niches of the walls of the sanctum are fine images of Durga, the consort of Siva, Vrishabharudha-murti[18] and Ganapati. In the courtyard of the temple are carvings of Vinadhara-Siva,[19] Mahishasura-mardani and Nataraja, and six miniature shrines, with *Nagara-sikharas*; and, projecting from the base of the spire to the east is a *suka-nasika,* framing a Nataraja.

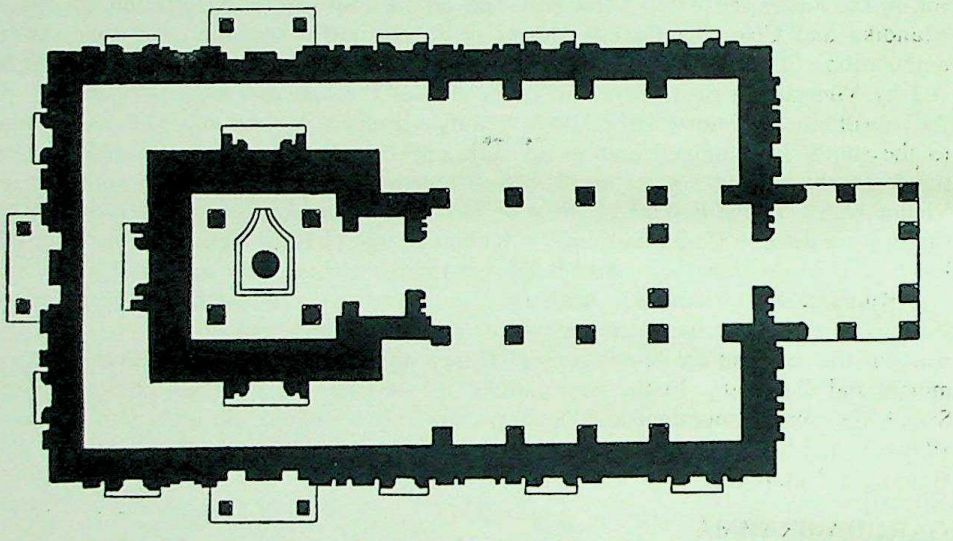
GARUDA-BRAHMA



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The Garuda-Brahma is to the south of the Bala-Brahma; the temple includes a *mantapa,* with a double row of pillars, each rising from a *purna-ghata* and topped by a medallion, and spacious *artha-mantapas* on its three sides; by the principal doorway are Ganga and Yamuna and door-keepers and beautifully executed *chamara-grahinis*; its lintel sports a Garuda heaving the god Vishnu aloft, a motif repeated on the top of the entrance to the sanctum; on the outer walls of the shrine are finely carved Yaksha-Gandharva *mithunas*; the spire, typically Chalukyan, projects a Nataraja in its *chaita*-arch.

SVARGA-BRAHMA



The Svarga-Brahma, the most perfectly appointed, in its lineaments, of the Nava-Brahma temples, is also the most exuberantly ornamented; its *sikhara*, square at the bottom, and featuring Natarajas on either side of the projecting *suka-nasika*, ascends in an ingeniously devised storeyed arrangement, of bands of compressed architectural emblems, pillars, niches and arches, culminating in *amalakas* at the corner of each band, in a curvilinear tower of utter majesty, parallelled only in the later spires of the temples of Bhuvanesvara. In the sanctum is the idol of the Svarga-Brahma, with an aisle around; at the entrance to the temple are imposing *dvara-palas*, one of whom wields a *trisula* (trident) in the Pallava style; the epigraph of Vinayaditya, dating the shrine to 704, is above the doorkeeper to the north. At the entrance of the *mantapa* are the conventional figures of Ganga and Yamuna, and on its lintel a Gandharva. It is on the outer walls of the shrine that its exquisite sculptures abound; at the top the flying celestials are positioned like garlands; on the southern wall, Kubera, shouldered by a man, a bull-riding deity and a standing Siva; on the north, a fine carving of Nataraja albeit badly mutilated; on the western wall, a figure of Trivikrama, also disfigured, and Vishnu; and on the east, another fine but damaged Nataraja, Tripurantaka-murti,[20] also mutilated, and an exquisite representation of Lingodbhava-murti.[21] In the niches of the walls are *Ashta-dikpalakas* and scenes from the Hindu epics, importantly, the incarnation of Ganga and the miracles of Krishna. On the outer wall of the sanctuary, to the west, is a standing Kumara (Kartikeya), with an attendant peacock.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PADMA-BRAHMA

The Padma-Brahma, the farthest of the Nava-Brahma temples to the south, stands behind the Svarga-Brahma, utterly devastated by vandals, except for the sanctum, the aisles and the *mantapa*; the *vimana* has fallen off and disappeared completely. On the lintel of the *garbha-griha* is sculptured Dakshina-murti,[22] exhorting the sages; on the pilaster is a transparent *linga* emerging from an open lotus; beautifully carved *dvara-palas* adorn the doorway and on its jambs are figures of Ganga and Yamuna. The walls of the aisles project porches, the southern with a Ganapati and the western with a standing Kartikeya, but the eastern wall is bare. The pillars of the shrine are unadorned.

NOTES

1 Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu, seated on a full-blossomed lotus, one foot hanging down and doused by flanking elephants.

2 Traceable to the voluptuous prototypes of the reliefs of the Bharhut *stupa* (in the former Nagod state), the graceful figures of the river-goddesses, Ganga and Yamuna, standing on their respective *vahanas* or mounts, *makara* (crocodile) and *kurma* (tortoise), often adorn the entrances of early medieval Hindu temples. By the inscriptions of the Chalukya king, Vijayaditya (696-733), the symbols of the rivers, with other insignia of sovereignty, were wrested by his father, Vinayaditya, from the 'Lord of Uttara-patha' (north India), probably Yasovarman of Kanauj, in a battle about 696, importing a derivation of the symbolism from the northern country.

3 The seven Mothers—Brahmi, Mahesvari, Kaumari, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Indrani and Chamundi—manifestations of Sakti, the divine energy.

4 They are, in their appointed quarters—Indra (east), Yama (south), Varuna (west), Kubera (north), Agni (south-east), Nairuti (south-west), Vayu (north-west) and Isana (north-east).

5 An aspect of Siva (Chandra-sekhara, with the crescent moon in his *jata* or matted hair), his spouse, Uma (Parvati) beside him in loving embrace.

6 Matsya (fish), Kurma (tortoise), Varaha (boar), Narasimha (lion), Vamana (dwarf), Parasurama, Rama, Balarama and Kalki.

7 An episode from the *Mahabharata* (*Adi-parva*, canto 2) of an elephant (*gaja*) and a tortoise (*Katchapa*), in their incarnations, doomed to internecine combat, mercifully annihilated by Garuda, the mount of Vishnu.

8 Vishnu, in his fifth *avatara* of Vamana, about to take the fateful three steps (*trivikrama*), allowed to him by the emperor, Bali. Vamana, transformed into a colossus, covered the entire universe with two steps, and with the third, placed on the head of the royal donor, relegated him to the nether regions.

9 According to which, on the Brahmana, Pravara, rejecting the advances of the nymph Varudhini, she was tricked by a Yaksha, disguised as the Brahmana, into an amour, of which the offspring was Manu, the primeval king of India.

10 A syncretic icon, manifesting the ideological union of Siva with Sakti (the female principle), the primordial parents of the Universe—the male and female halves of the image delineated appropriately in distinguishing attire and ornamentation.

11 Also called Yogamba (by Nityananda in his *Rasa Ratnakara*, cantos 56-58) and Yogesvari.

12 A many-armed form of Sakti, depicted standing with a lion *vahana*, slaying Mahishasura, the Buffalo Demon, piercing him with her trident and trampling upon him animatedly; a favourite iconic motif in western Chalukyan art.

13 The dancing Siva, dispelling the darkness of sunset.

14 A variant of Kartikeya, a six-faced (*shanmukha*) deity, riding a peacock, with several iconographic types.

15 Siva in his *ghora* or terrific aspect, emphasising his innate pacific character.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

[16] A native of Karvan (Kayarohana) in the Kathiawad peninsula (c. 150), the architect of the Pasupata doctrine and, by the Puranas, the 28th incarnation of Siva and the author of *Pancharha-vidya*, a treatise enjoining grisly acts of devotion to the god, conceived in his terrific (*rudra*) form.

[17] An esoteric illustration of a tenet of Saivism, which postulates the god in an embodied form.

[18] Siva, seated on his bovine mount, *vrishabha* or *nandi*.

[19] Dakshina-murti or Siva, as the master of the art of music, playing the stringed instrument, *vina* (lute).

[20] Recurrent motifs in Hindu medieval sculpture are of Siva, in his manifestation as the great destroyer; here of Tripurasura, the 'demon of the three fortresses'; likewise of other devils—Gajesvara, Andhakesvara and Jalandhara.

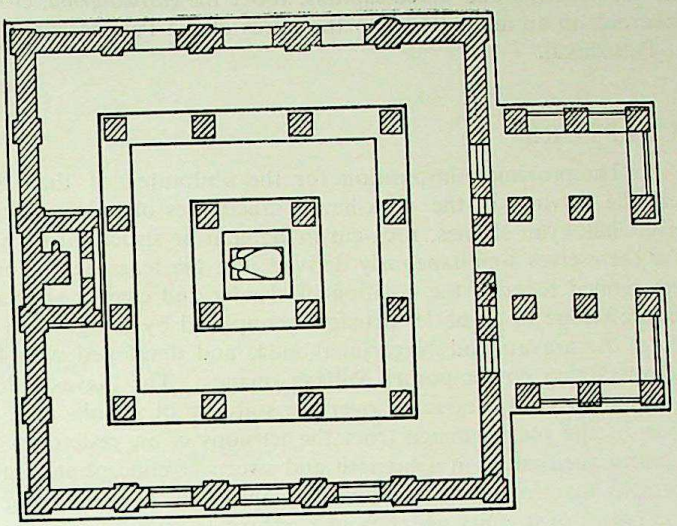
[21] A type of Siva image, combining his human as well as columnar forms and reflecting the mythology, according to which Brahma and Vishnu once staked their individual claims for the creation of the universe when Siva blazed before them in a column of fire; and, while Vishnu admitted his inability to locate its base, Brahma falsely asserted its discovery by him, whereupon Siva cursed him for his falsehood, denying him forever a cult of his own, but Vishnu, in reward, was conferred that privilege, almost equal to Siva's own.

[22] A graceful presentation of Siva, seated facing south, expounding to the sages *yoga*, *jnana* wisdom and other *sastras* (arts and sciences).

ARCHITECTURE

Architecturally, the Nava-Brahma temples derive, in plan and embellishment, from the rock-hewn sanctuaries of the Satavahanas, developed by the succeeding dynasties right upto the Chalukyas; but the matrix for the shrines, rock-cut or structural, was doubtless common, evolved from primordial (Vedic) types, as the two expressions were clearly reversible. In arrangement, the Nava-Brahma shrines, except for the Taraka-Brahma, consist of a nave, leading in a central access to the square sanctum, the *garbha-griha*, with flanking aisles, separated, as in the Buddhist *chaityas*, by rows of pillars, and extended around the sanctum to form a circumambulatory; in addition, the Svarga-Brahma and the Kumara-Brahma are continued in a porch or *artha-mantapa*, doubtless modelled on the portico of the Satavahana Cave 19 at Ajanta. Differently, the Taraka-Brahma is organised simply in a *cella* communicating with the porch through an intermediate vestibule (*antarala*). In their basic formulation, the Nava-Brahmas are corresponded, in their ground-plan

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



The Lad Khan, Aihole

and *vimana* (towered sanctuary) by Aihole's Lad Khan, Kont-gudi, Huchchimalli-gudi and Temple No. 9, with dialectal variations, and, in a transmission of influences, by the migration of craftsmen in the wake of conquests and royal patronage, by the Brahmanical excavated columned halls at Ellora, the Ravan-ka-khai and the Ramesvara —a pillared portico, with the sanctum beyond, isolated by the passage around it.

The Nava-Brahma shrines are oriented eastwards, facing the sun, reared on an *adhishthana* (socle), beautified by a repetitive circular moulding, *kumuda* or torus. The lower walls, in the interior, save for a contour of the gable motif, are unadorned, but, on the outside, the *kumuda* moulding below the niche is interrupted by a band of religious or secular carvings, cut into blocks; the outer walls, in the middle, of the Padma-Brahma, Garuda-Brahma, Svarga-Brahma and Visva-Brahma are organised in recessed niches, for images between pilasters, and *artha-mantapas* on the western, northern and southern sides; the niches themselves are separated in the Svarga-Brahma and Visva-Brahma by intervening figure compositions and perforated screens, which also filled the *artha-mantapas;* and on the top of the exterior walls of these four shrines, flying celestials in *mithunas* or singly, and in the Visva-Brahma aspects of Vishnu besides; the walls of the other Brahmas are bare, except for a niche or porch on each of the three sides. The doorways of the Nava-Brahma temples are patterned like those of the Chalukyan shrines at Aihole; the threshold (*bhuvangama*) is without adornment; on the lower door-jambs (*sakhas*) are sculptured *dvara-palas,* Ganga and Yamuna, *chamara-grahinis* and vases of plenty, leaf and flower patterns, scrolls with figures or the lion and elephant motifs; importantly, a Garuda or Gaja-Lakshmi on the dedicatory *mangala-phalaka* of the lintel—a Pallava symbol; and, in an interesting variation, a ribbon of human faces on the top of the doorway to the *mantapa* of the Kumara-Brahma.

The central nave is roofed over by an entablature (*prastara*) of slabs, with sculptured panels on the under sides, framed by scrolls and gables, after the arrangement in the early shrines of Aihole—the Durga, Hucchimalli-gudi and the Temple No.9; from the *prastara* sloping slabs cover the aisles right down to the supporting walls. The curvilinear *sikhara* rises in a succession of storeys of miniature pillars,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

niches, windows and fluted capitals, above the *garbha-griha,* crowned by a compressed spheroid, in an assimilation to the spires of the Papanatha and Galaganatha temples at Pattadakal.

SCULPTURE

The proximate inspiration for the sculptures of the Nava-Brahma temples were the carvings of the rock-hewn sanctuaries of western India, from which the early Chalukyan shrines, rock-cut in Badami or structural in Aihole and Pattadakal, were themselves simultaneously derived; but the tense heavy forms of the rock mode were refined towards the creation of slender and elegant shapes of utter delicacy, in the knowledge of a subtler artistry, exemplified by the graceful forms of the bas-reliefs of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, and developed with further refinements in the interacting contemporary Pallava images. The Nava-Brahma sculptures indeed register a significant advance over the statuary of Aihole and Pattadakal, in a liberation of the plastic image from the tensions of an yesterday; the Alampur carvings are more variegated, in a breadth and sweep of conception, realised in lyrical forms, especially manifested in the *mithuna* compositions and the flying celestials; the powerful carvings of divinity are, however, informed by a graceful and supple energy, held in balance by a quiet restraint in the plastic emphasis.

ICONOGRAPHY

All the Nava-Brahma temples are dedicated to Siva and naturally feature in the carvings the many manifestations of that deity—Lingodbhava-murti on the eastern wall of the Svarga-Brahma; Chandrasekhara-murti (so called from the crescent moon in his tangled hair) on the exterior of the northern wall of the Bala-Brahma and in a projecting niche on the outer wall of the *garbha-griha* of the Visva-Brahma; Vrishabharudha-murti on the northern wall of the Svarga-Brahma, in a niche in the courtyard of the Bala-Brahma and in the Alampur Museum; Dakshina-murti, in his aspect of Vinadhara, also in the Museum; Mahesa-murti at the entrance to the *antarala* of the Bala-Brahma; Ardhanari-murti, on the front wall of the vestibule of the same shrine; Tripurantaka-murti on the east wall of the Svarga-Brahma; and, on the exterior of its north wall, Bhikshtana-murti (as a mendicant with a skull for a begging bowl); Alingana-murti in the inner circumambulatory of the Bala-Brahma, and also on its outer *pradakshina;* Nataraja on the *chaitya*-arches of the *sikharas* of the Nava-Brahmas, on the underside of the ceiling of the *Maha-dvara*, and in a like location before the entrance to the inner *pradakshina* of the Bala-Brahma and also in a niche in its courtyard, and on the outer side of the north, south and west walls of the Svarga-Brahma.

Of the other deities of the Hindu Trinity, Brahma figures in the Lingodbhava and Tripurantaka panels on the east walls of the Svarga-Brahma and on the lower side of the ceiling of the *Maha-dvara;* and in the same situation Vishnu, who is also featured, in a niche on the exterior of the western wall of the Svarga-Brahma and, in the *avatara* of Varaha, if mutilated, on a wall of the Visva-Brahma, and in the aspect of Trivikrama in a niche on the western wall of the Svarga-Brahma; but the example on a wall of the Visva-Brahma is badly damaged.

The many images of Surya in the Alampur Museum bespeak the prevalence of his worship in Chalukya times; Kartikeya figures in niches on the exterior of the southern wall of the outer circumambulatory of the Bala-Brahma, the western wall

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the sanctum of the Svarga-Brahma and the western wall of the Padma-Brahma; Bhairava is represented in the Museum; and the lesser deities, Indra, Varuna, Agni and Vayu are located in niches on the outer walls of the Svarga-Brahma.

Lakshmi occurs in her aspect of Gaja-Lakshmi, *pralambapada* or otherwise, on the lintels of the doorways of the Taraka-Brahma and Kumara-Brahma; and sculptures of Mahishasura-mardani in the Museum are legion.

CONSEQUENCES

I

The appearance of the curvilinear *sikhara* in the dominions of the Chalukyas of Badami, in an extension of the architectural idiom tried out in the Indo-Aryan temples of Aihole and Pattadakal, is not surprising; the emergence of the type at Alampur is dateable, by epigraphic testimony (the earliest revealed yet), to the reign of Vikramaditya I (655-680) over the territory, which comprised in its sweep Kudali-Sangamesvaram, in the vicinity of Alampur, and, to the east of it, Mahanandi and, further outwards, Satyavolu, where the inscriptions,[1] on the outer walls of the Ramalingesvara, point to its establishment in the seventh century. The incipient Sangamesvara[2] at Kudali is in a prelude to the fuller architectural efflorescence of the Alampur shrines; if later, the towered sanctuaries of Mahanandi and Satyavolu manifest the identical type formulated in the Galaganatha and Papanatha shrines of Pattadakal.

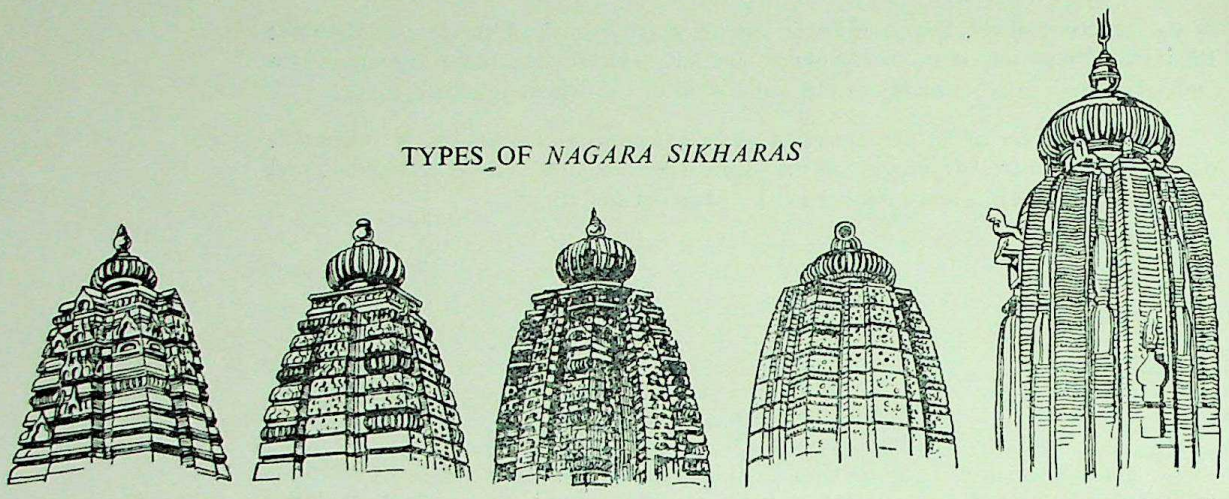
II

On the death of Kharavela,[3] the kingdom of Kalinga, the coastland on the east between the Mahanadi and the Godavari rivers, became a part of the Satavahana empire, and, on its downfall, split up into a tapestry of petty principalities. In this cockpit of political aspirations, the Vasishtas,[4] the Sailodbhavas,[5] the Vakatakas and the Vishnukundins strove for mastery; yet, it was the intruding Eastern Gangas, an offshoot of the Western Gangas of Mysore, who emerged victorious around 497, establishing their capital at Kalinganagara, Mukhalingam today, off Srikakulam on the east coast. However, the Chalukya monarch, Pulakesin II, after subduing the rebel ruler of the Western Gangas, Durvinita, and espousing his daughter, in the course of a victorious campaign (*digvijaya*) of the eastern Deccan, reduced Pishtapura (Pithapuram) in south Kalinga and vanquished the king of the Eastern Gangas, Indra-Varman III, in 624. The Chalukyan incursion presumably accounts for the curving spires of Mukhalingam, bearing the unmistakable impress of the *Nagara* structures of Pattadakal. With the most striking architectural affinities to those is the Mukhalingesvara, of the eighth century by its inscriptions, followed by the adjacent Somesvara and the Bhimesvara, from their structuring, at intervals of some half a century.

To the south of Mukhalingam, at Jayati (Jayantipura), 20 miles north-west of Vizianagaram, have been revealed[6] two temples to Siva and his consort, Parvati, and another to the Siva at Saripalli, near Visakhapatnam, with the curvilinear (*rekha*) towers, in the style of the Mukhalingesvara, but later by more than a century.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TYPES OF *NAGARA SIKHARAS*



Aihole Pattadakal Alampur Osia Bhuvanesvara

It was from Mukhalingam, in central Kalinga, that the Indo-Aryan type of shrine, in its characteristic towered sanctuary, spread along the eastern sea-board to the temple city of Bhuvanesvara, the next capital of the Eastern Gangas, where the spire of the earliest shrine, the Parasuramesvara (c.750), is patterned after the Galaganatha at Pattadakal. The evolving architectural movement, for some five centuries from the eighth to the middle of the thirteenth, culminated in the magnificent Temple of the Sun at Konarka,[7] with reverberations in the ruined shrines of Mayurbanj on the Bengal frontier.

III

But the resemblances between the towers and architectural devices of the Pratihara shrines of Osia in Rajasthan and those of the early Chalukyan temples can not be accounted by any conveyance of cultural influences in the track of political conquest; the similarities argue, however, a generalised temple tradition, evolved through centuries from a pre-existing formulation, finding expression in widely separated territorial references. The crystallised architectural precepts of the *Vastu-sastras* (treatises), rigorously enjoined by theocratic dogma and practised by traditional guilds of craftsmen, who were apt to seek fresh pastures of royal patronage, doubtless made for a homogeneity of artistic expression, even if with provincial deviations.

POSTSCRIPT

All art history is imperfect reconstruction, conditioned and handicapped by the gaps in discoveries, archaeological and otherwise; the achievement of man lies obscured by centuries of corroding time, destroyed or disfigured; the research and industry of a later day can only reveal scattered islands of art and culture; the task of piecing the civilisation that was from fragments of finds can be hazardous, and the reconstructed pattern is nearly always a truncated revelation of the historical reality. The anxious or curious mind is too apt to leap the gaps of discovery or bridge them with wishful theories. Art is instinct with the logic of its own evolution and progression, and the style, the hallmark of corporate endeavour, is the stamp of the period and sets its chronology; the evidence for art has primarily to be internal.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

NOTES

1 Madras Epigraphist's Report, Nos. 460, 461 and 462 of 1940-41; *Ibid*, 465 of 1940-41, on a wall of the apsidal shrine to the south-east of the Ramalingesvara.

2 It was in the immediate presence of this deity that Pulakesin II made a grant of the village of Tummeyanuru, in the Chalukya *vishaya* (division) on the border of Kurnool, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Karthika, which might well have fallen in any of the years 618, 619, 635, 636 and 637, earlier by a quarter century than the first epigraph discovered at Alampur of Vikramaditya I (655-680) (N. Ramesan: *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad*, Vol. I, pp. 40-44).

3 The King of Kalinga (178 B.C.), of the Cheta dynasty, a devout Jain and a remarkable figure in Indian history—a great conqueror, administrator, musician and builder, well versed in mathematics, law and finance.

4 Of the fifth and sixth centuries, rulers originally of Devarashtra, in central Kalinga, who ousted the Mathara dynasty of south Kalinga, centred in Pishtapura, exercising supremacy over both the territories.

5 Kings of Kongoda on the east coast, from the Chilka lake to Mahendragiri in the Ganjam district, extending their sway in the middle of the seventh century right upto the Mahanadi in the north.

6 In a survey, undertaken by the Archaeological Department of the Andhra University, of the monuments of Kalinga architecture in the Visakhapatnam district.

7 Fifty-four miles north-east of Puri, the great lone temple of Konarka by the sea was built during the reign of the Eastern Ganga ruler, Narasimha Deva I (1238-64), marking the apogee of Orissan temple architecture. The stupendous shrine is conceived as the chariot (*ratha*) of Time, on 24 giant wheels, ridden by the Sun-god and drawn by seven beautifully caparisoned steeds. The monument is embellished by luxuriant sculpture of titillating human and animal forms.

REFERENCES

J. N. Banerjea: The Development of Hindu Iconography (1967).

Percy Brown: Indian Architecture (Hindu and Buddhist) 1943.

A. K. Coomaraswamy: A History of Indian and Indonesian Art (1927).

H. Cousens: Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1907—1908.
Chalukyan Architecture (Archaeological Survey of India, 1926).

James Fergusson: History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1910).

R. S. Gupte: The Art and Architecture of Aihole (1967).

The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III, The Classical Age (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) 1954.

Stella Kramrisch: The Art of India through the Ages (1955).

M. Radhakrishna Sarma: Temples of Telingana (1972).
Area under Srisailam Project to be Submerged (1974).

P. R. Ramachandra Rao: The Art of Nagarjunakonda (1956).

G. Ramakrishna Sarma: Sri Brahmesvara Kshetra Mahatmyam (*Telugu*) (1958).
Telingana Inscriptions, Volume II (1960).
Dakshina Varanasi (*Telugu*) (1961).
The Monuments of Alampur (1963).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

N. RAMESAN: Temples and Legends of Andhra Pradesh (1962).

Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad, Vol. I (1962).

M. RAMA RAO: 'The Temples of Alampur', Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXXIX, Part III, December 1961.

'Early Chalukyan Architecture—A Review', Journal of Indian History, Vol. XLI, Part II, August 1963.

Early Chalukyan Temples of Andhra Pradesh (1965).

B. ROWLAND: The Art and Architecture of India (1956).

S. K. SARASWATI: A Survey of Indian Sculpture (1967).

C. SIVARAMAMURTHY: Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum (1956).

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN: Architecture of Early Hindu Temples of Andhra Pradesh (1965).

P. SREENIVASACHAR: A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, Part II (1940).

P. SREENIVASACHAR and P. B. DESAI: Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh (1961).

P. R. SRINIVASAN: Beginnings of the Traditions of South Indian Temple Architecture (1959).

MOHD. ABDUL WAHEED KHAN: Stone Sculptures in the Alampur Museum (1973).

G. YAZDANI (edited by): The Early History of the Deccan (1960).

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad, 1926-27.

History and Legend in Hyderabad (Department of Information and Public Relations, Government of Hyderabad, 1953).

Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1959-60, 1960-61.

Antiquarian Remains in Hyderabad State, 1953.

Indian Archaeology—A Review.

Skanda Purana (*Sanskrit*).

PALKURKI SOMANADHUDU: Panditaradhya Charitramu (*Telugu*) (edited by C. Narayana Rao), 1939.

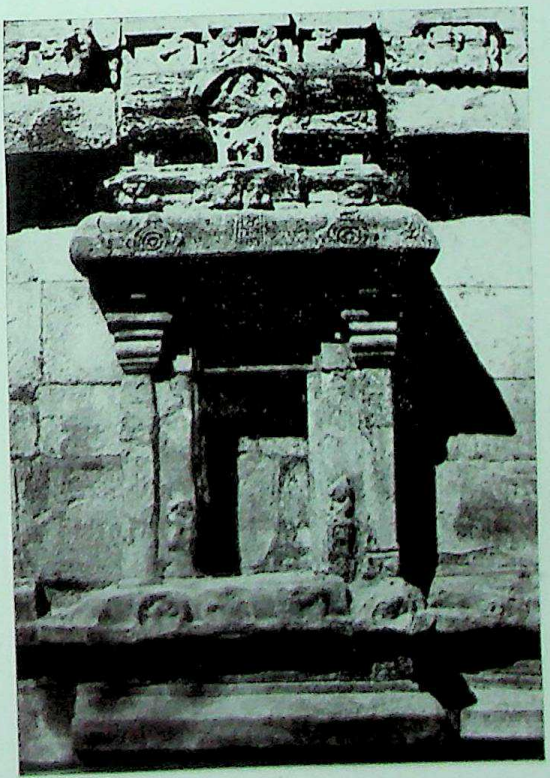
FINIS

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Taraka-Brahma

1. Taraka-Brahma, side view

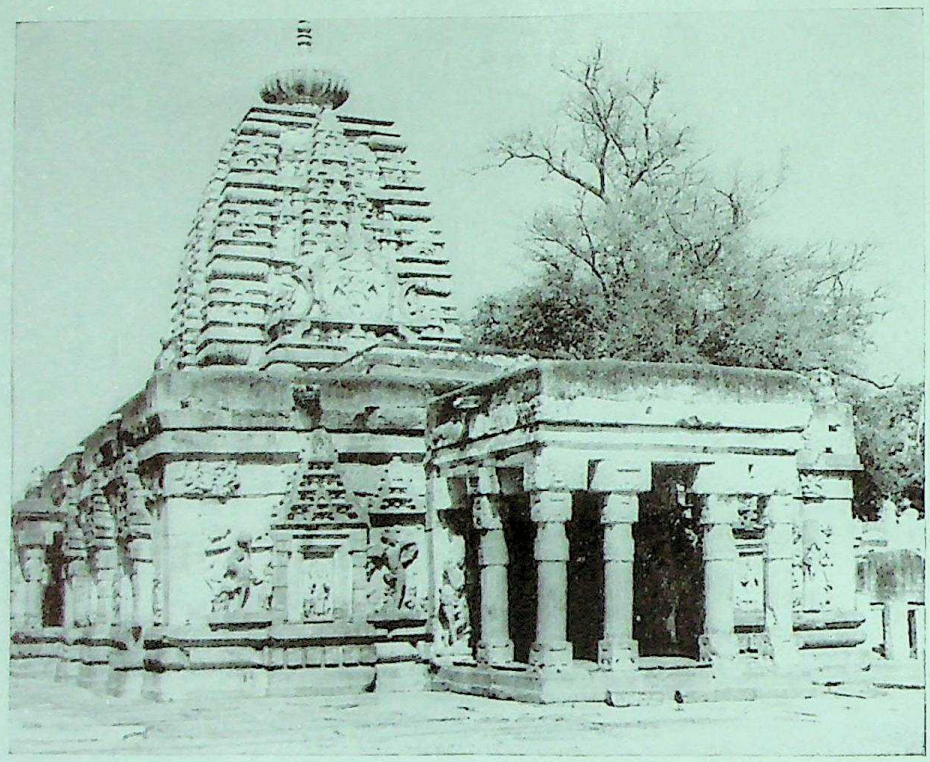
2. Taraka-Brahma, front view



3. Niche

Svarga-Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

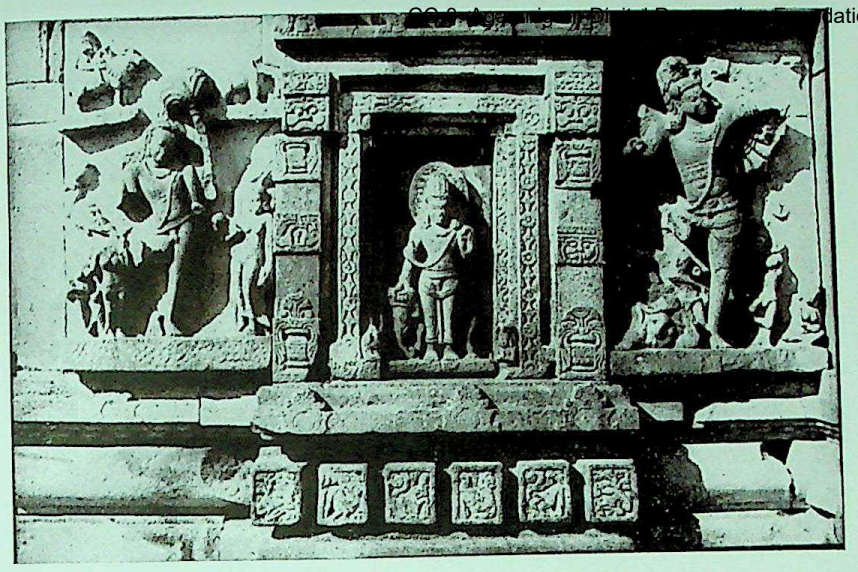


4. Svarga-Brahma

5. *Dvarapala*

6. Porch of Svarga-Brahma

CC-0. Agastya Jain Digital Research Foundation, Chandigarh



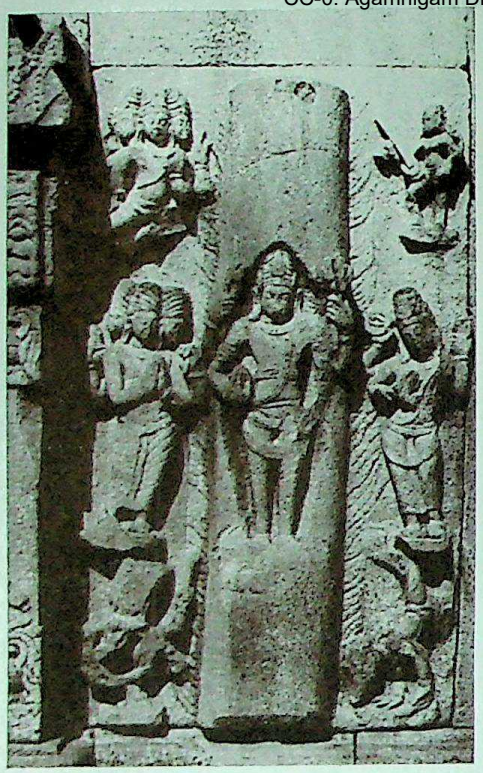
7. Niche, flanked by panels of sculptures

8. Indra: close-up of niche in figure 7

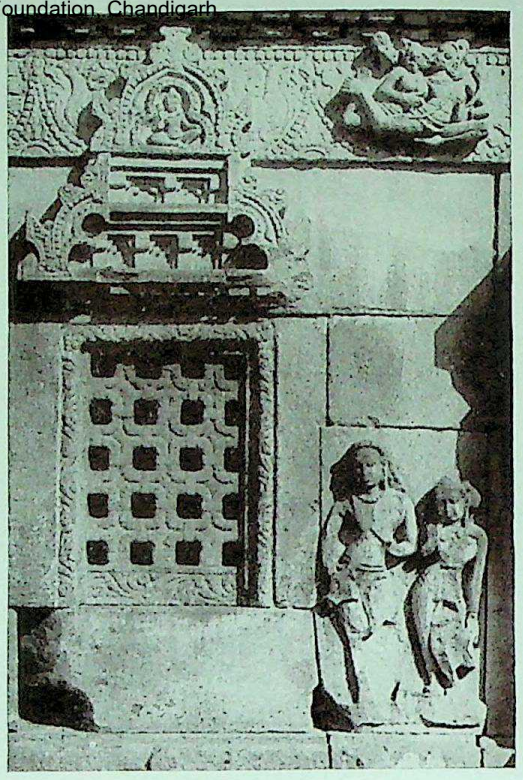
9. Bhikshatanamurti: close-up of panel in figure 7

10. Gangadharamurti: close-up of panel in figure 7

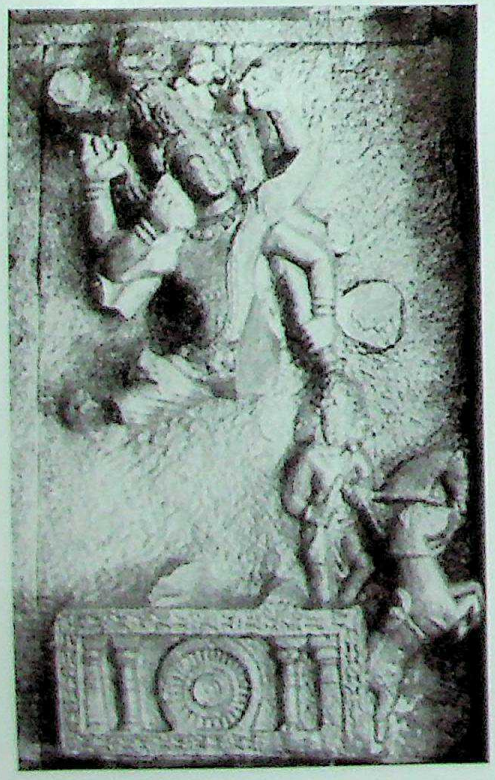
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



11. Lingodbhavamurti



12. Screen, flanked by *Mithuna*



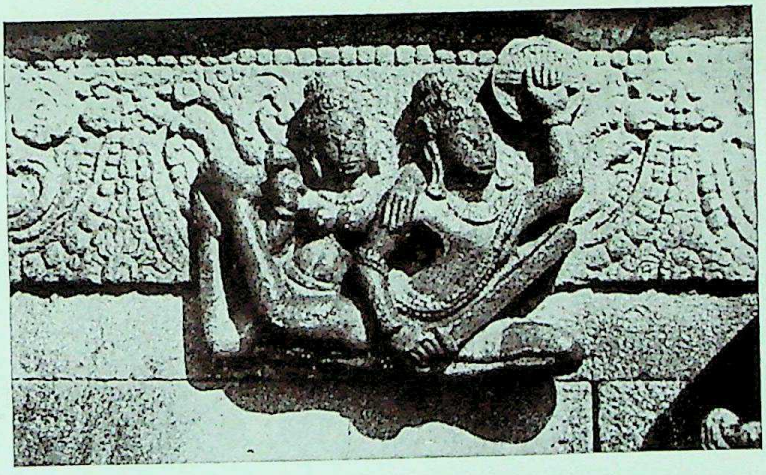
13. Tripurantakamurti

14. *Mithuna*

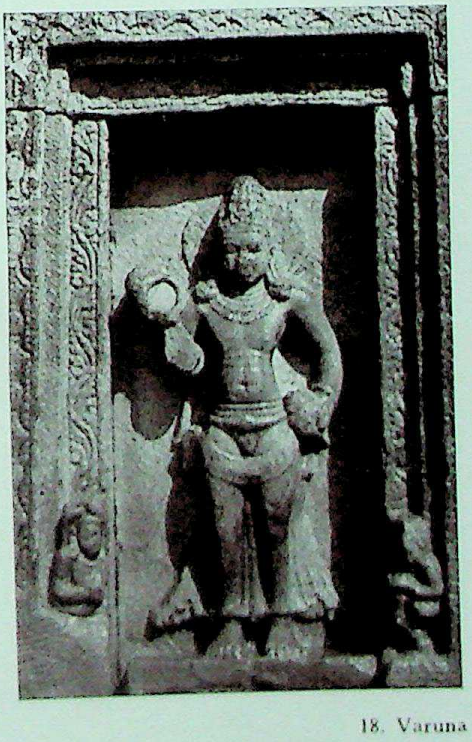
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

15. Flying *Yakshas*

16. Nataraja



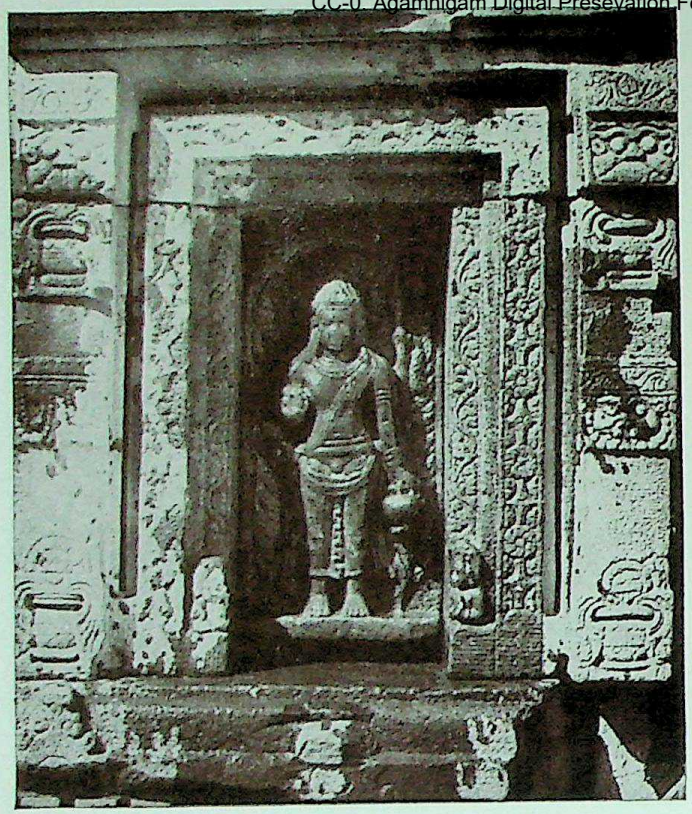
17. *Kinnara-Mithuna*



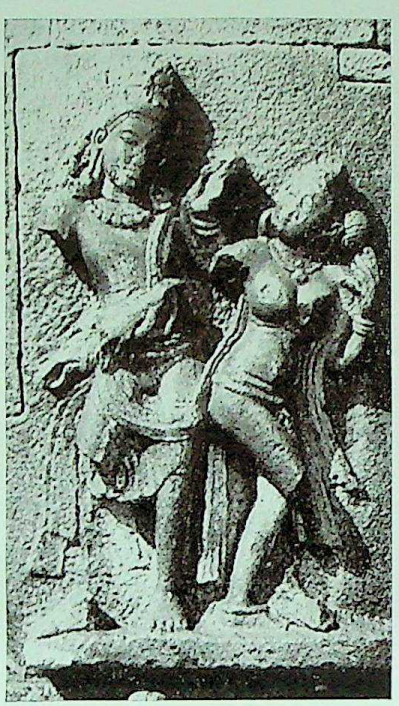
18. Varuna

19. *Gandharva-Mithuna*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

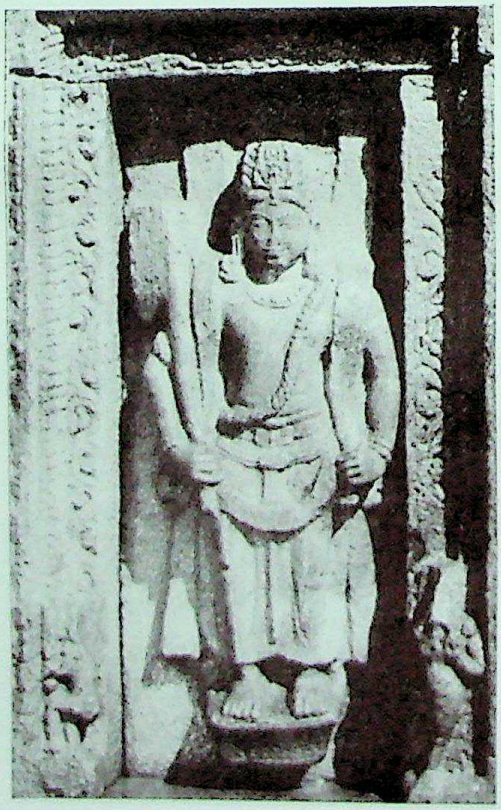


20. Agni



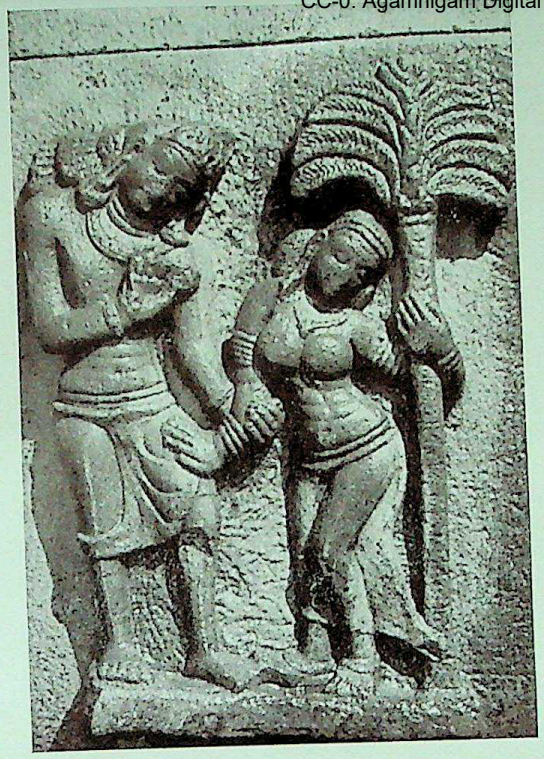
21. *Mithuna*

22. *Mithuna*



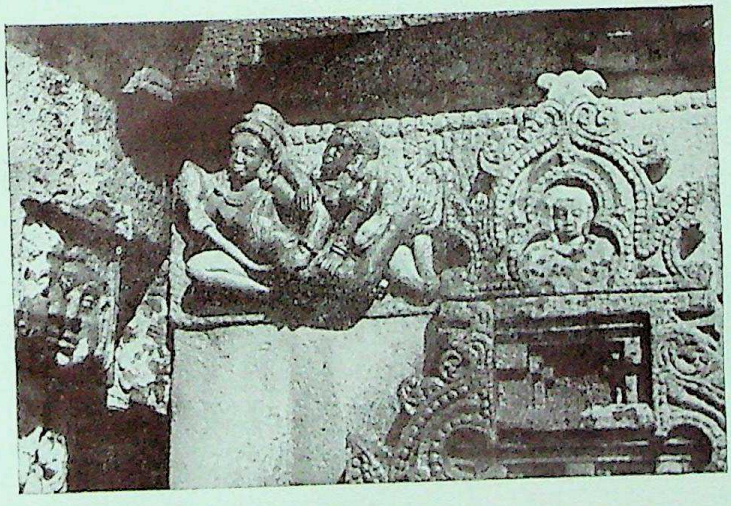
23. Vayu

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



24. *Mithuna*

25. *Mithuna*



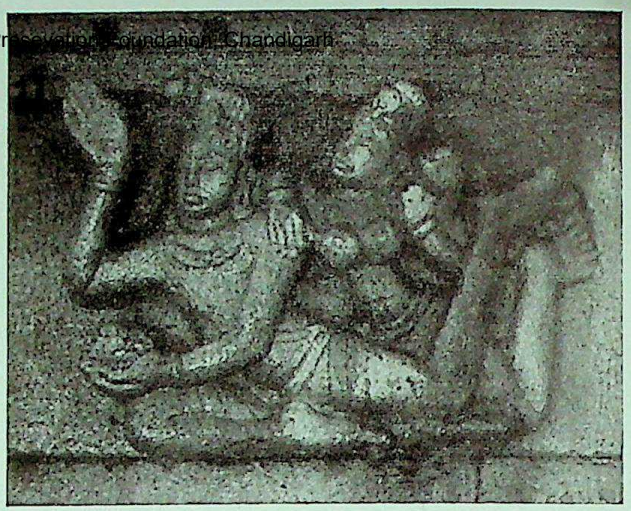
26. *Gandharva-Mithuna*

27. *Yaksha-Mithuna*

28. *Dvarapala*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

29. *Mithuna*



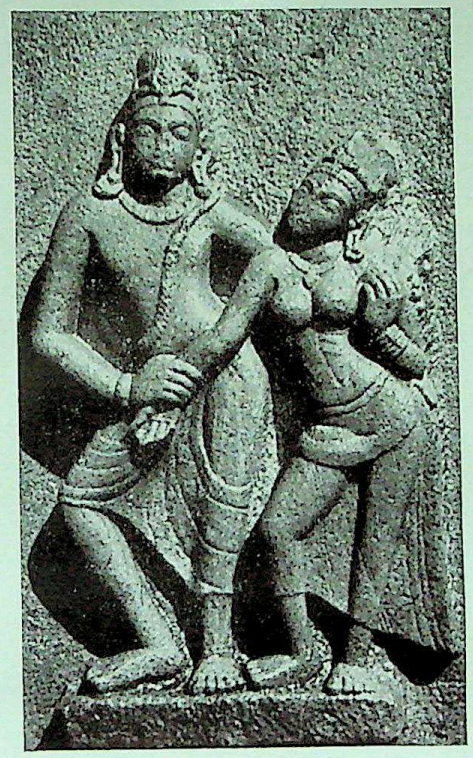
30. Flying *Yaksha* couple

31. *Mukha-Linga*

32. Siva

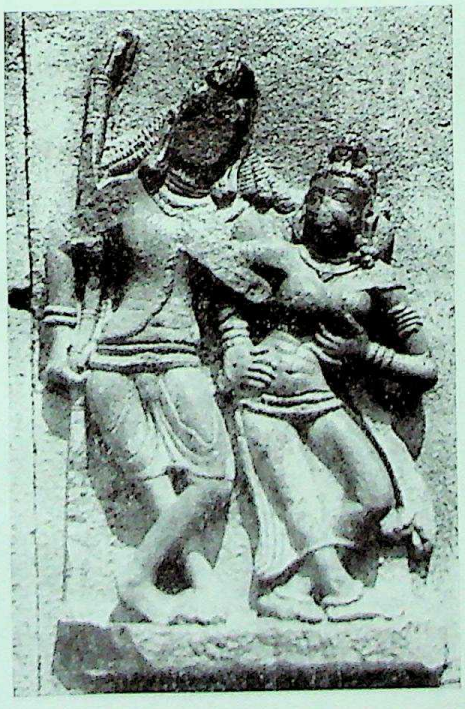
33. *Mithuna*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



34. *Mithuna*

35. Agni

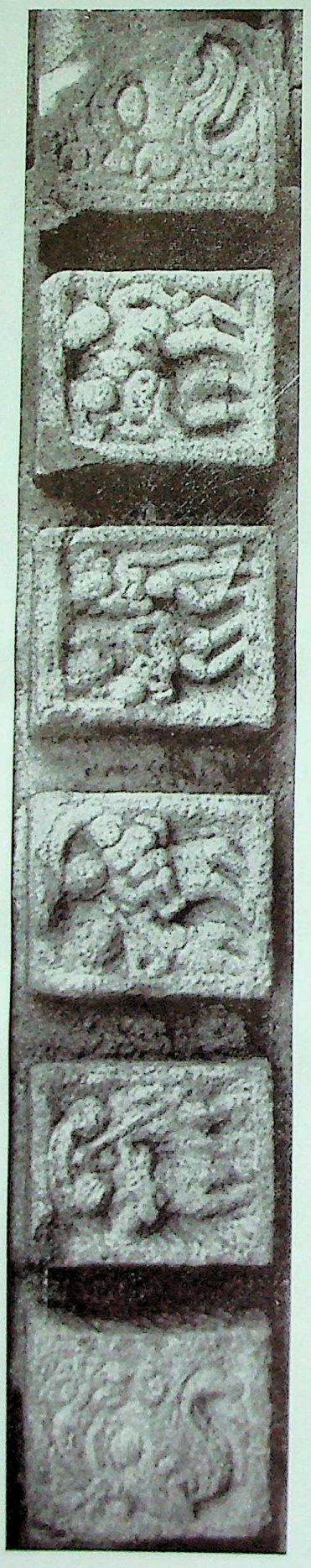


36. Rathi Manmatha

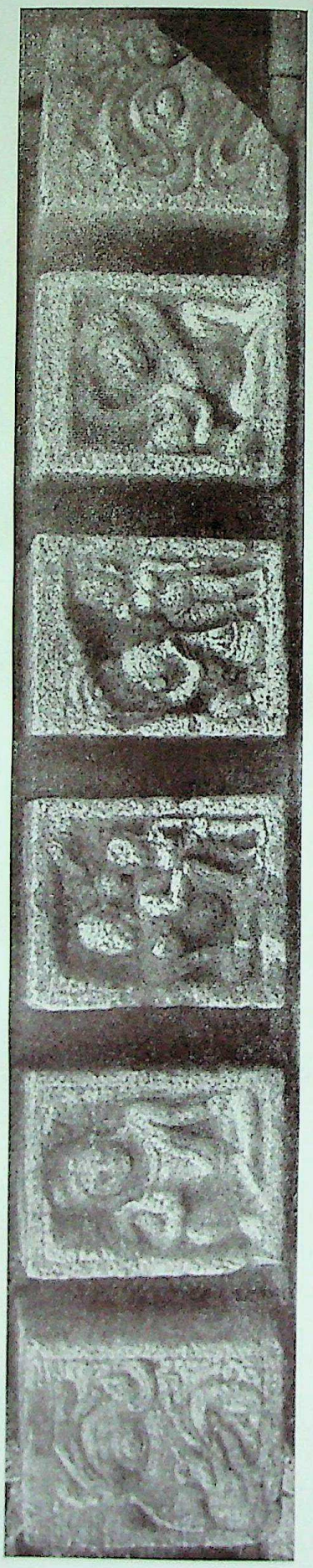
37 *Mithuna*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

38. Frieze



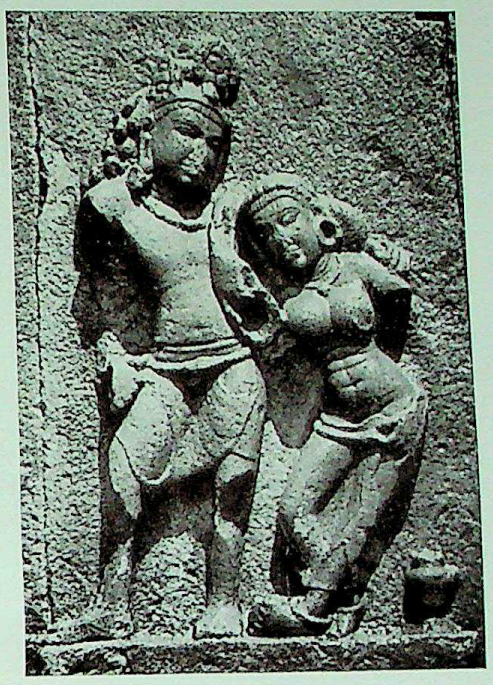
39. Frieze



40. Frieze

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

41. *Mithuna*

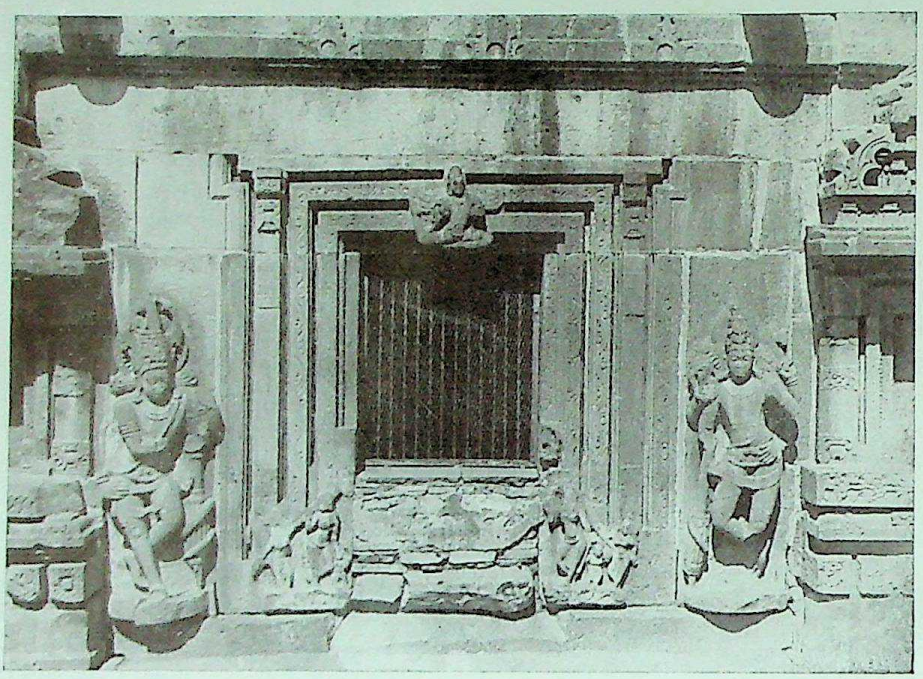


42. *Mithuna*

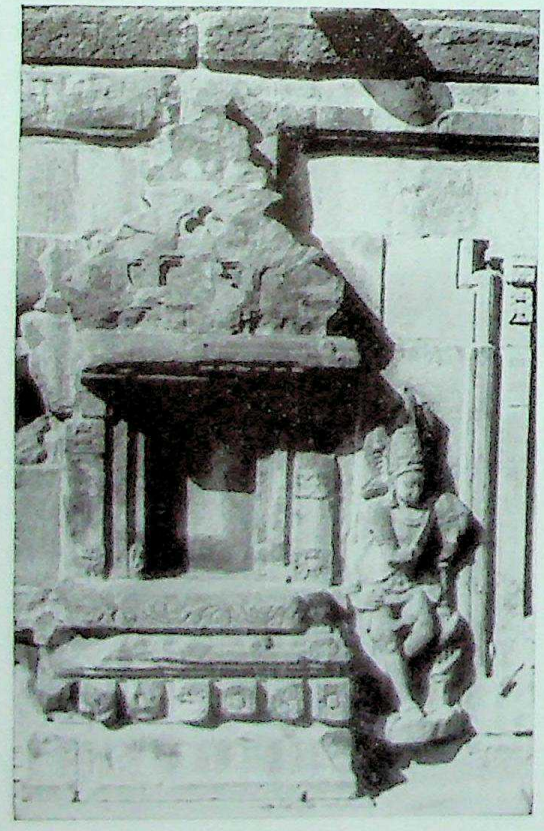
Padma-Brahma

43. Padma-Brahma

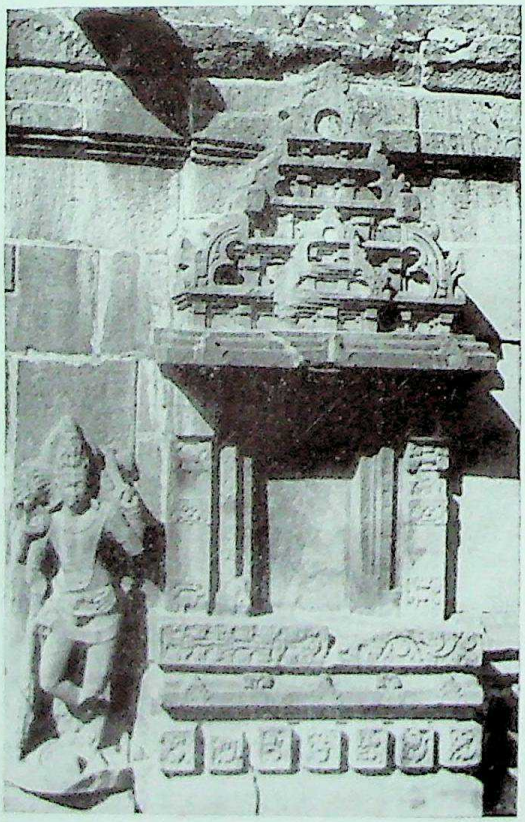
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



44. *Dvara* of Padma-Brahma

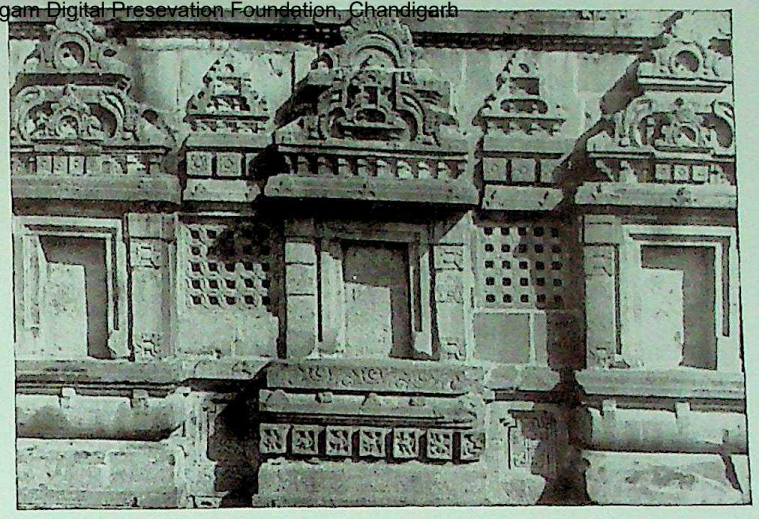


45. Niche



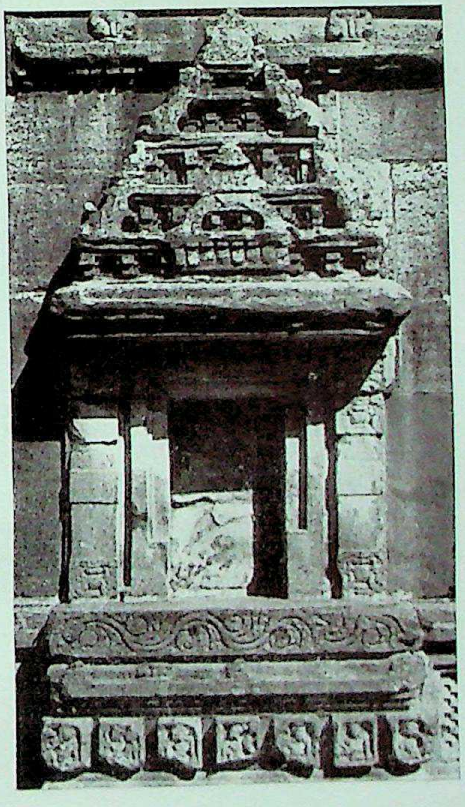
46. Niche

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



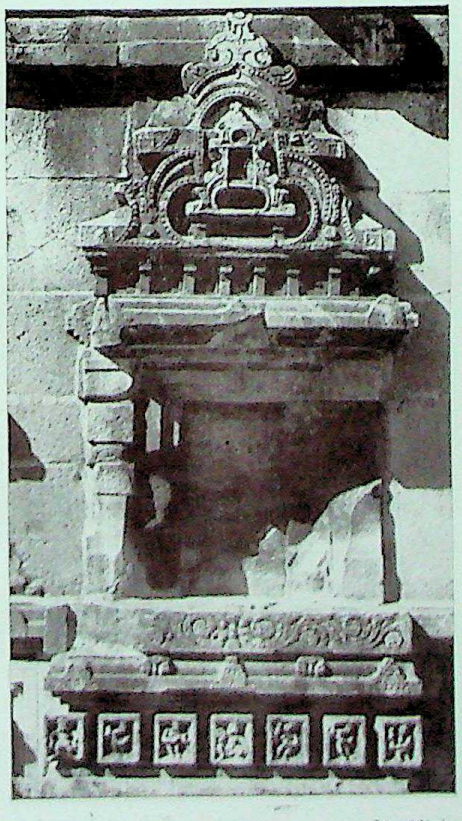
48. Niches, separated by screens

47. *Dvarapala*



49. Niche

50. *Dvarapala*



51. Niche

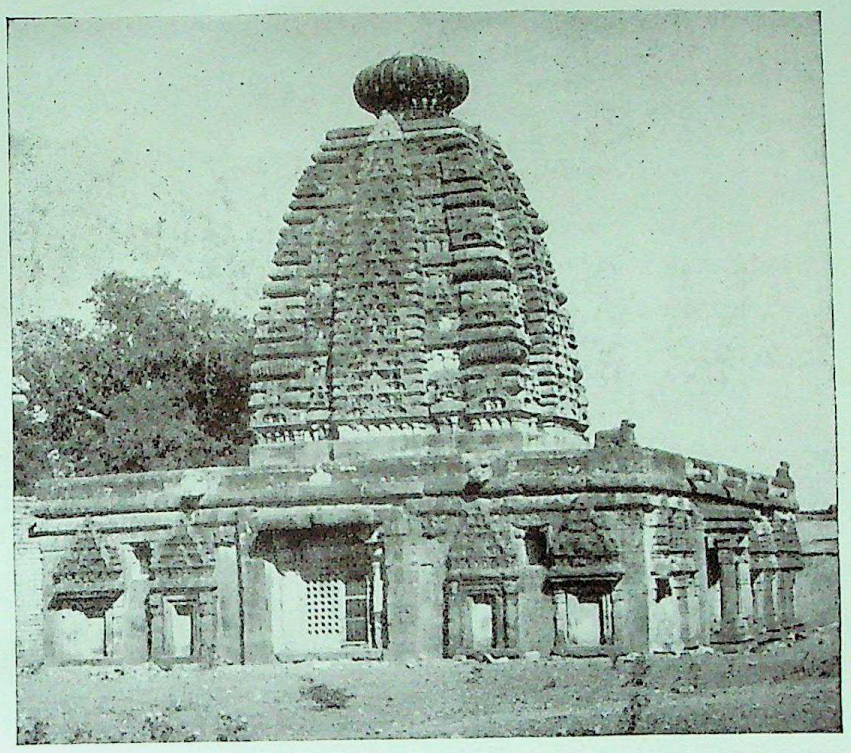
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

52. Frieze

53. Frieze

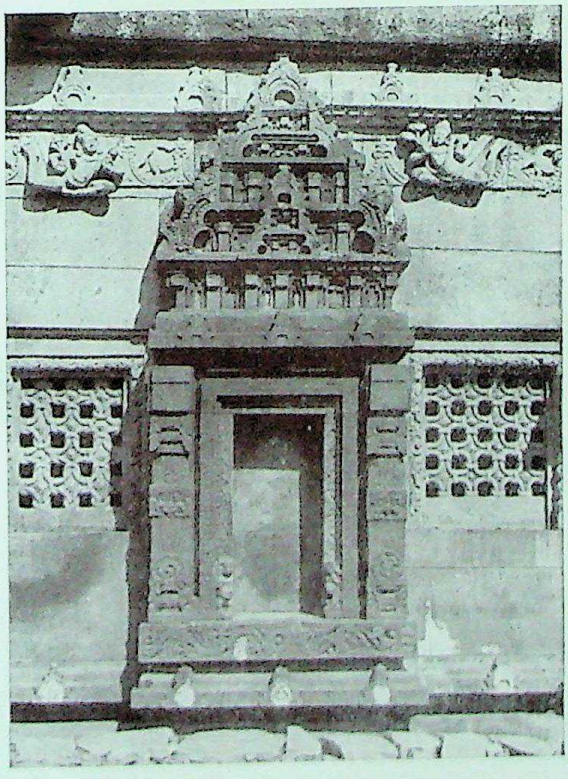
54. Frieze

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

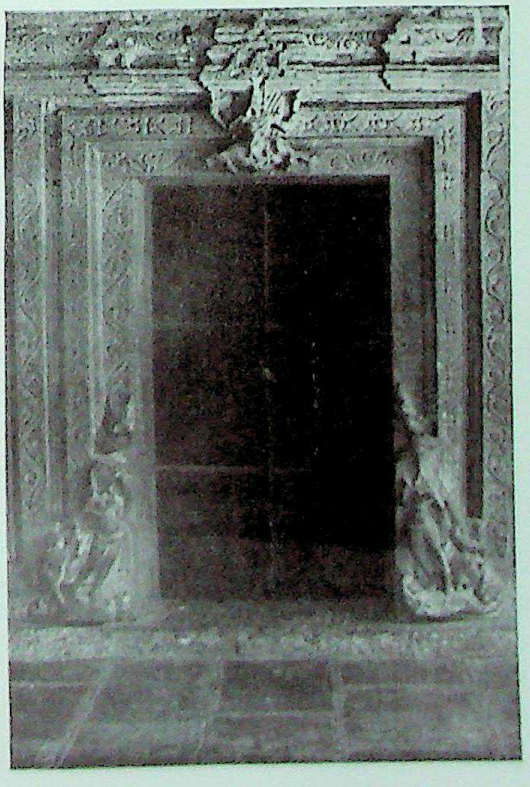


55. Garuda-Brahma

56. *Chauri*-bearer

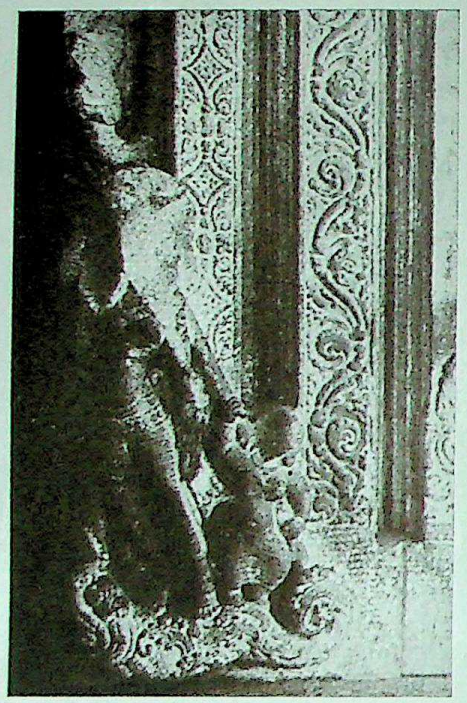


57. Niche, flanked by screens



58. Doorway of sanctum

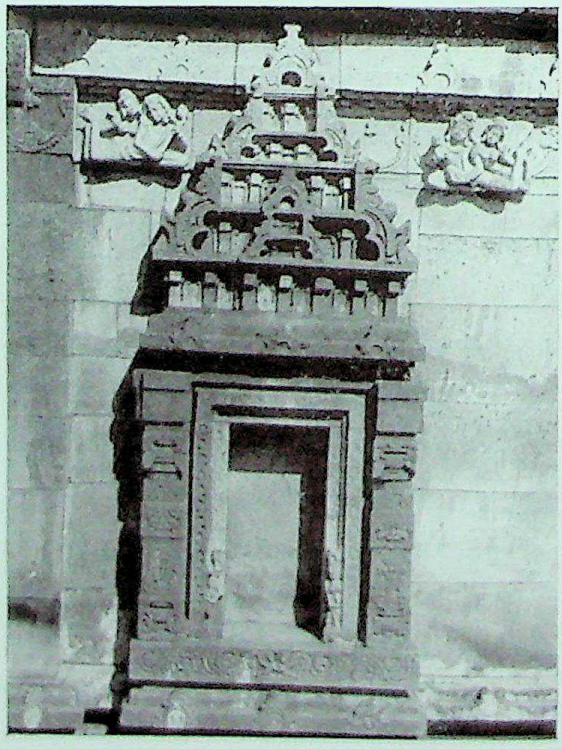
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



59. Ganga

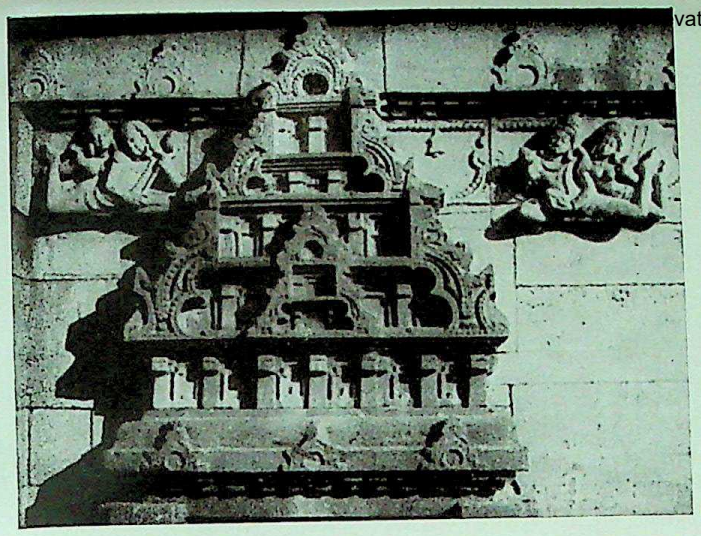
60. *Yaksha*-couple

61. Yamuna



62. Niche, flanked by flying celestials

vation Foundation, Chandigarh

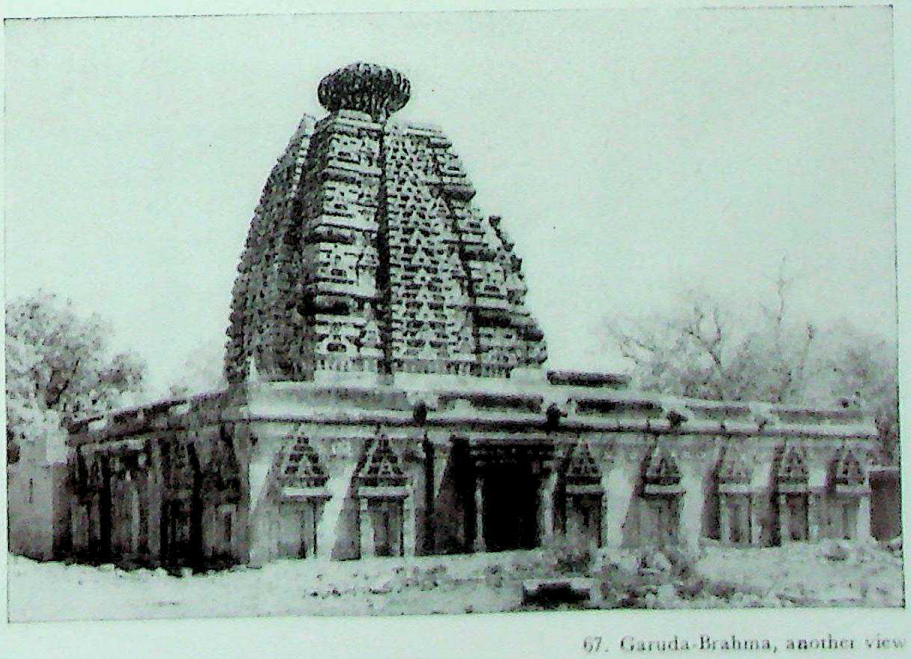


63. Niche, flanked by flying *Garudas*

64. *Dvarapala*

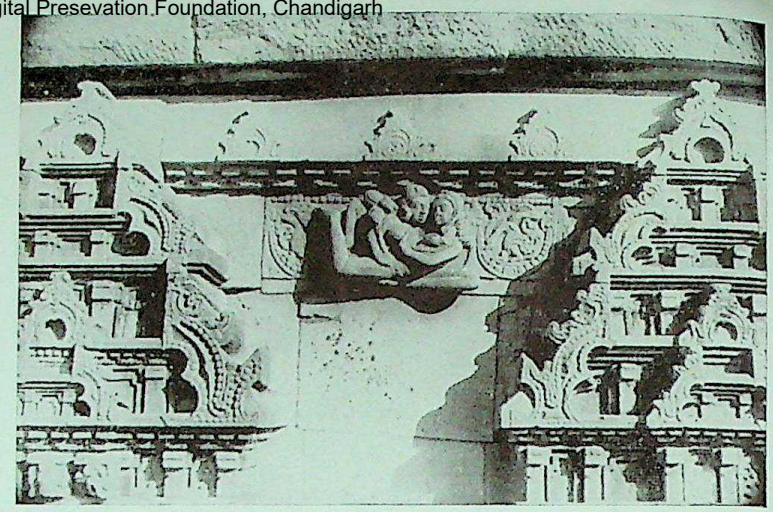
65. Flying *Gandharvas*

66. *Dvarapala*

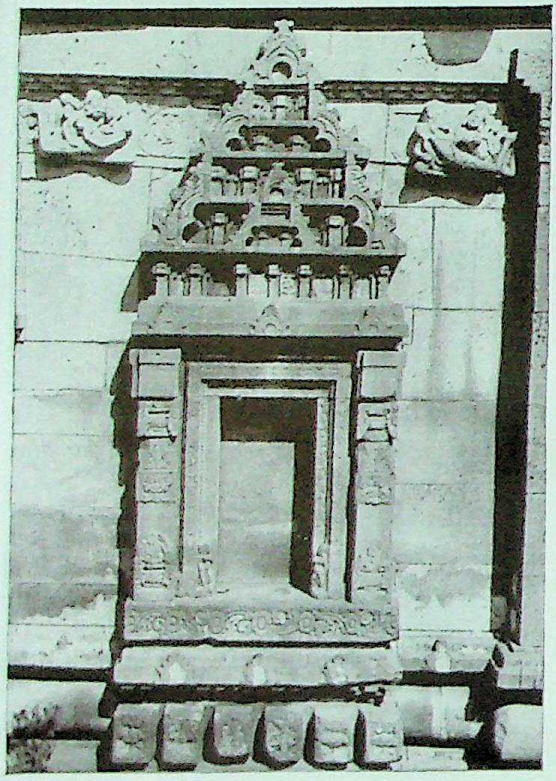


67. Garuda-Brahma, another view

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

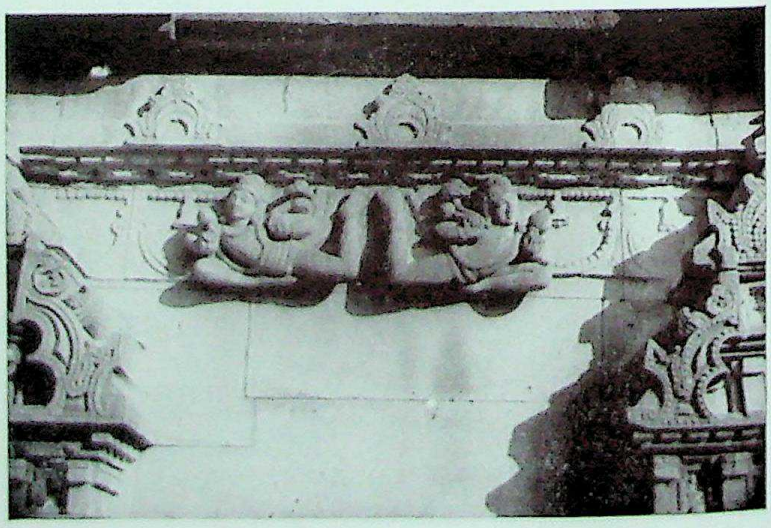


69. Niches, flanking *Yaksha* couple



68. Niche, flanked by flying celestials

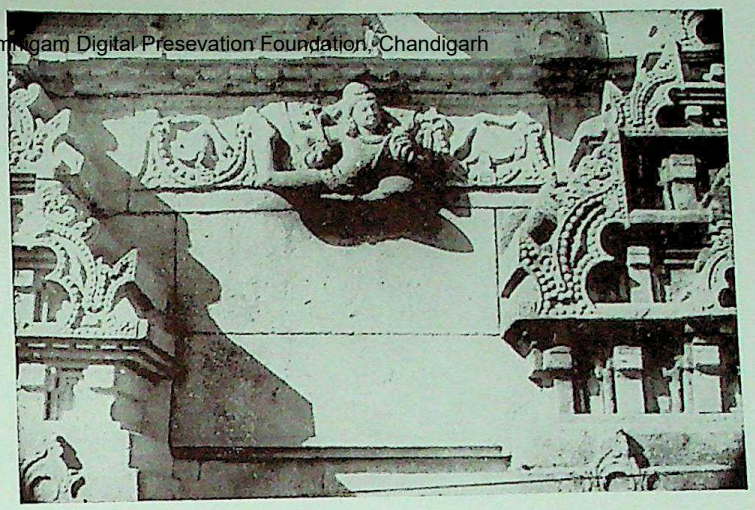
70. Close-up of *Yaksha* couple of figure 69



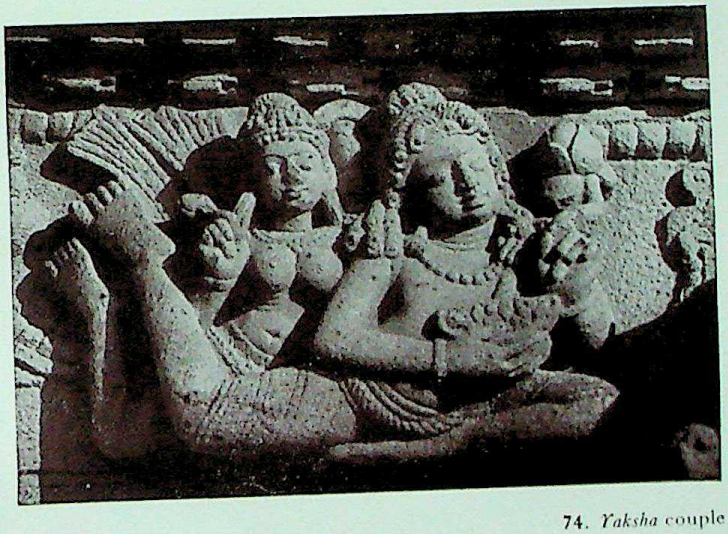
71. Niches, flanking flying *Garudas*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

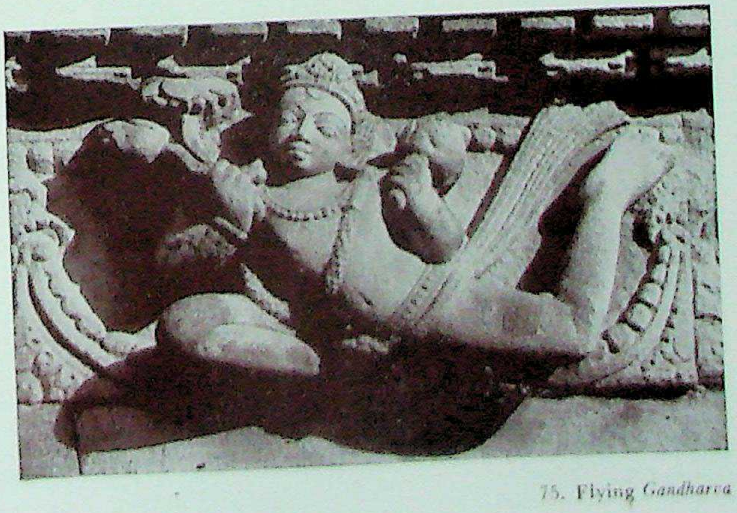
72. Frieze



73. Flying *Gandharva*, flanked by niches



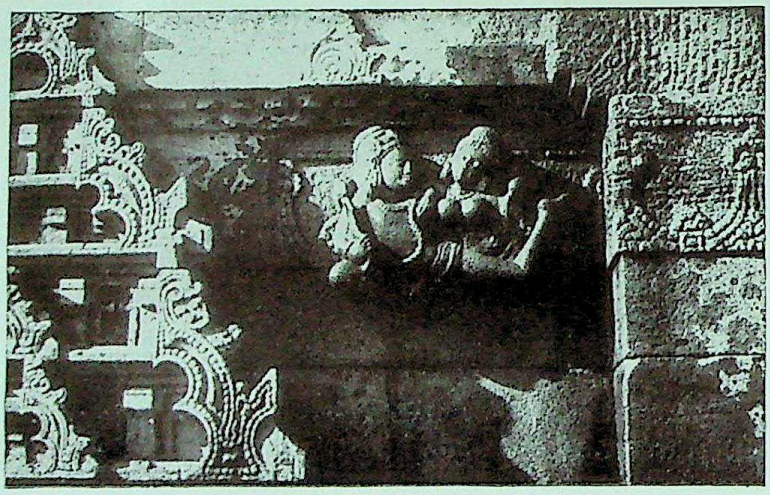
74. *Yaksha* couple



75. Flying *Gandharva*

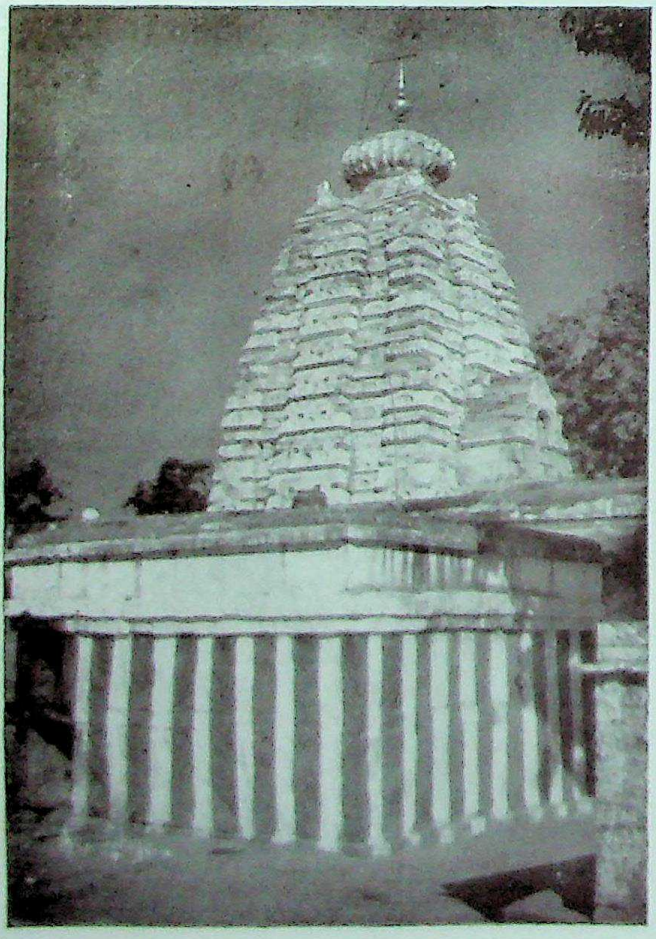
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

76. Flying *Garuda*



77. *Garuda* couple

Bala-Brahma



78. Bala-Brahma

79. Surya

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

80. *Dikpala*

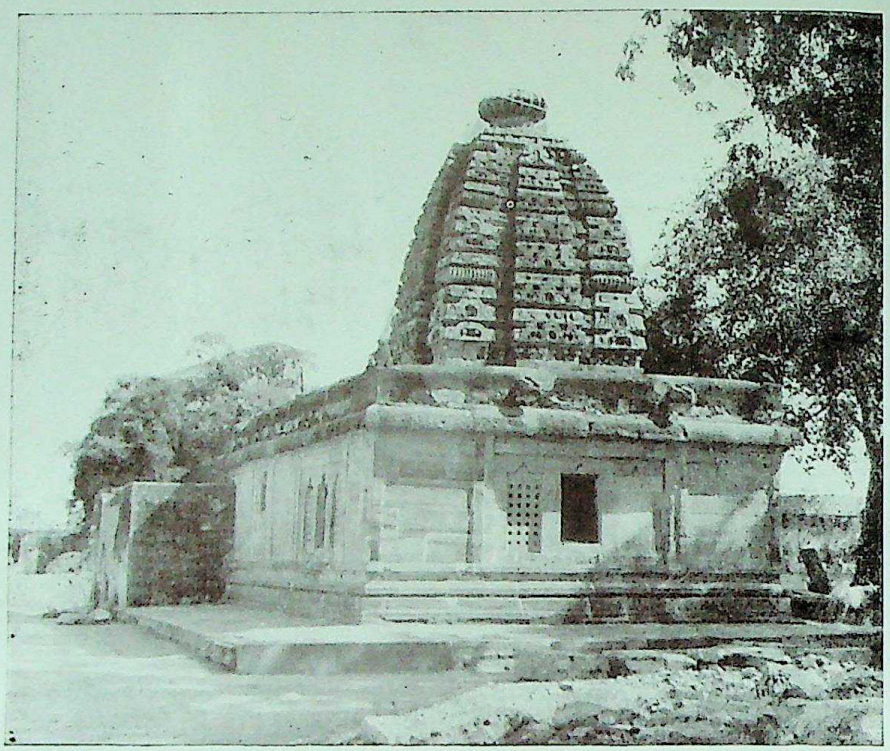
81. *Dikpala*

82. Ardhanarisvara

83. *Dikpala*

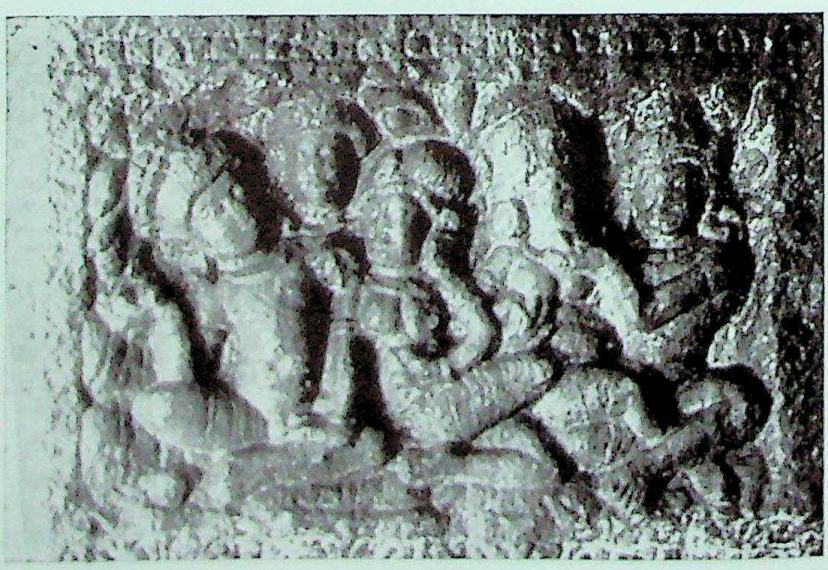
Kumara-Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



84. Kumara-Brahma

85. Carved pillar in *Mukha-mantapa*



86. Close-up of panel in figure 85

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

87. Carved pillar in *Mukha-mantapa*

88. Close-up of panel in figure 87

89. Close-up of panels in figure 87

CC-0. Panjab University Research Foundation, Chandigarh

90. Carved pillar in *Mukha-mantapa*

91. Close-up of panel in figure 90

92. Close-up of panel in figure 90

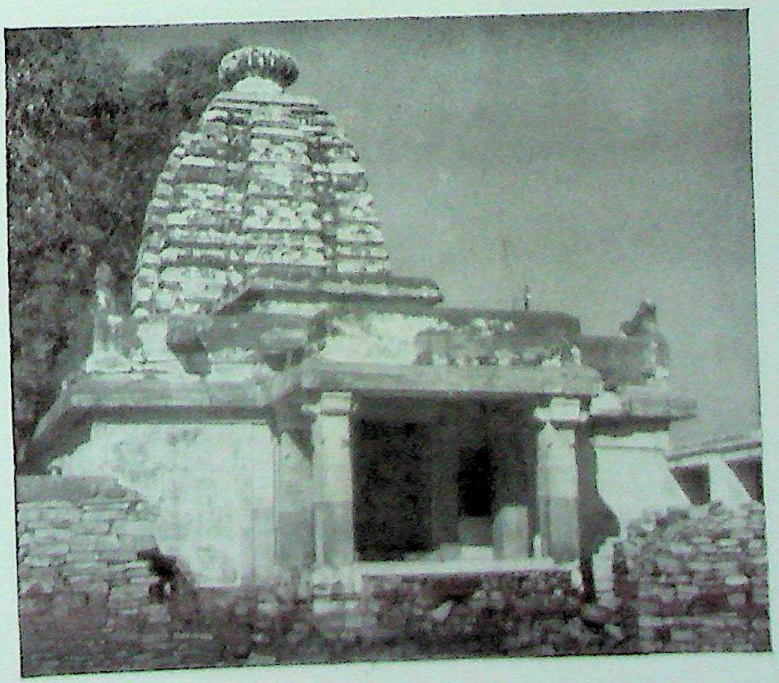
93. Close-up of panel in figure 90

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

94. Close-up of panel in figure 90

95. Carving on pillar in *Mukhamantapa*

96. Carving on pillar in *Mukhamantapa*



97. Kumara-Brahma, another view

Arka-Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

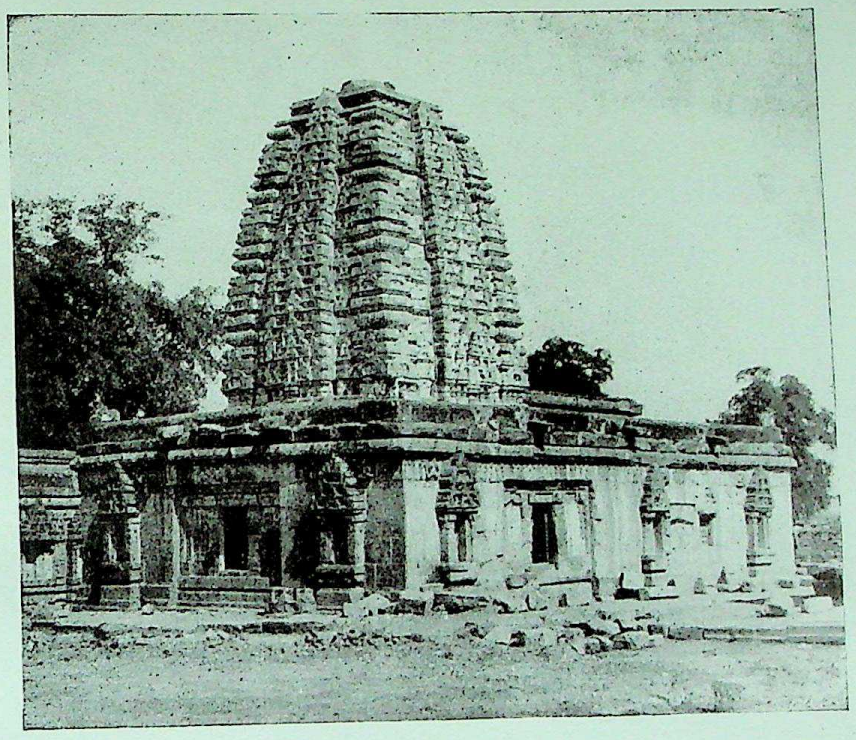
98. *Dvara* of Arka-Brahma

99. Loose sculpture : fragment of *Dvarapala*

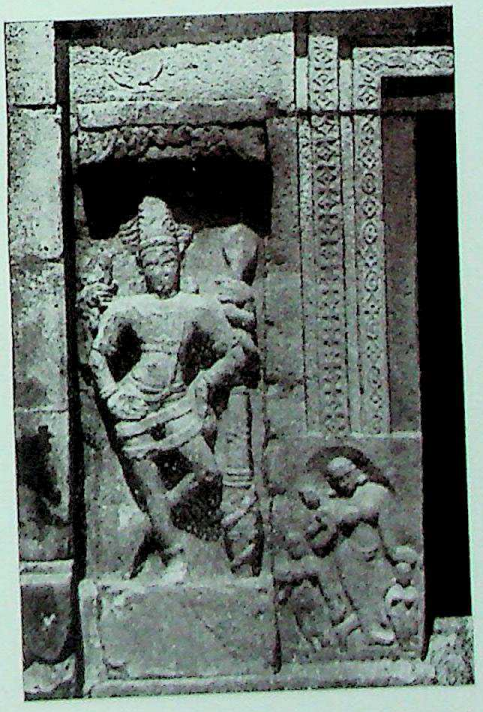
100. Doorway of sanctum

101. Loose sculpture : fragment from Sapta-matrukas

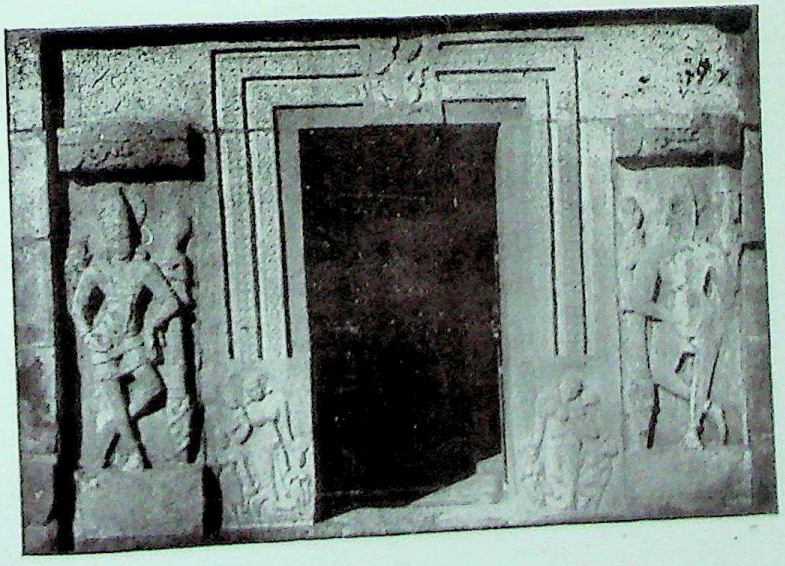
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



102. Veera-Brahma



103. *Dwarapala*

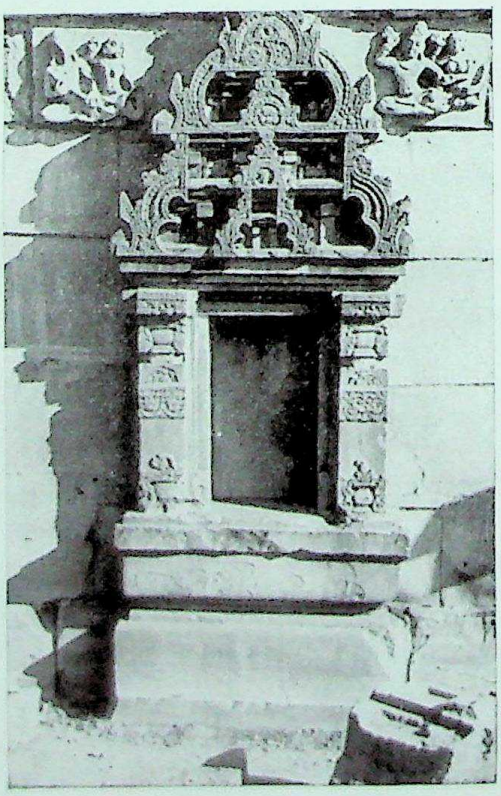


104. *Dvara* of Veera-Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

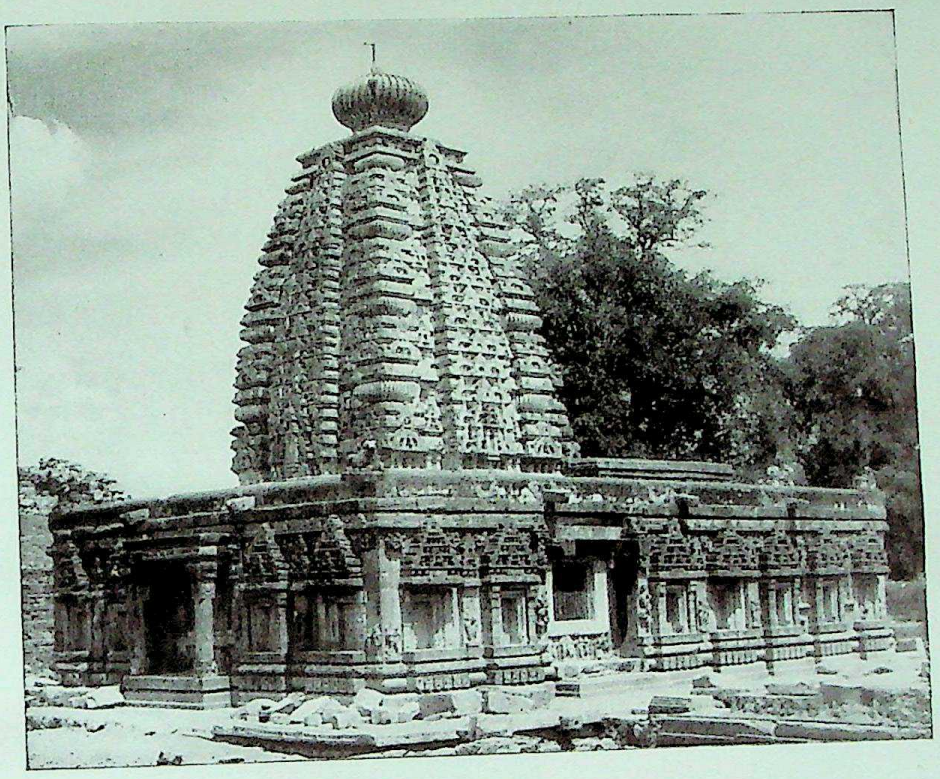
105. Veera-Brahma, another view

106. Niche flanked by flying celestials



107. Niche, flanked by flying celestials

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

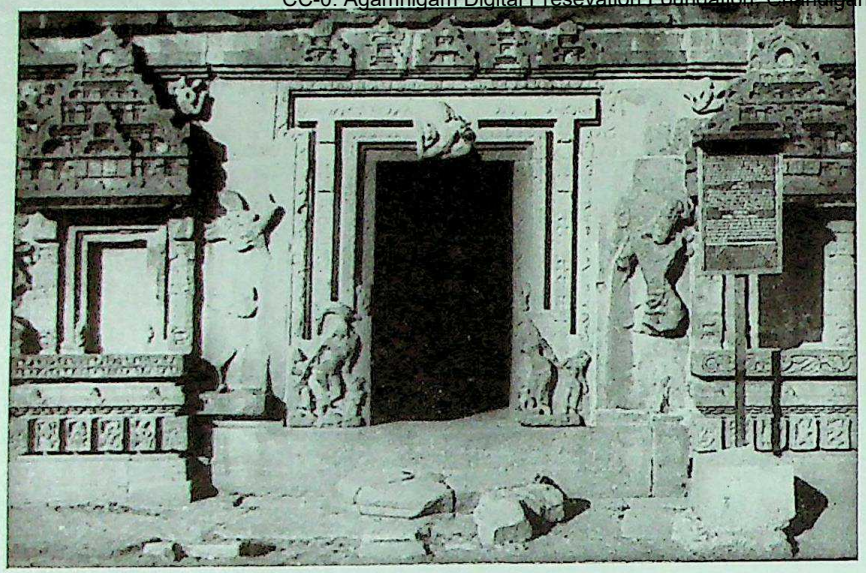


108. Visva-Brahma

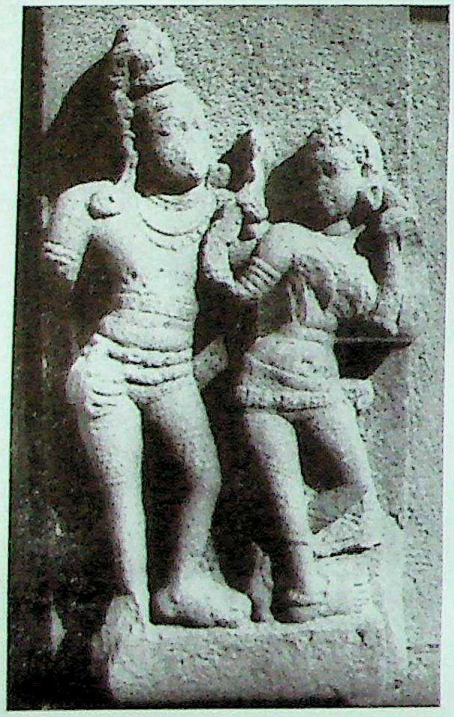
109. Yamuna

110. *Dvarapala*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

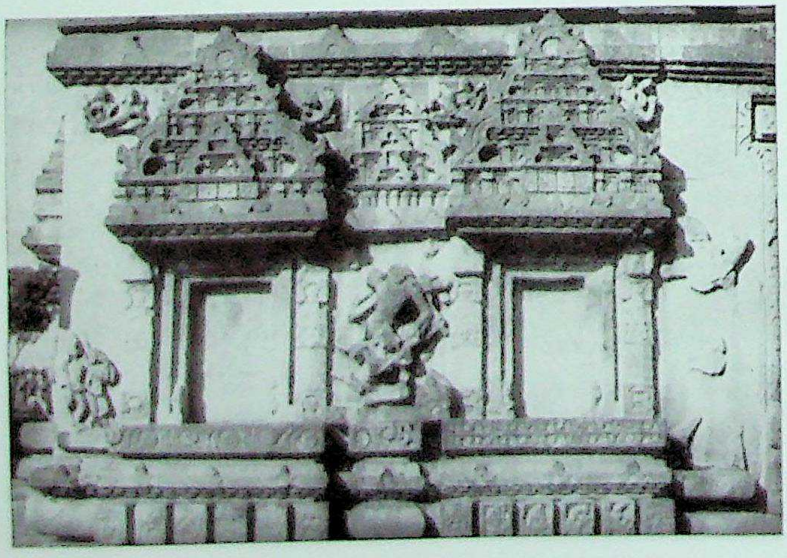


111. *Dvara* of Visva-Brahma



112. *Mithuna*

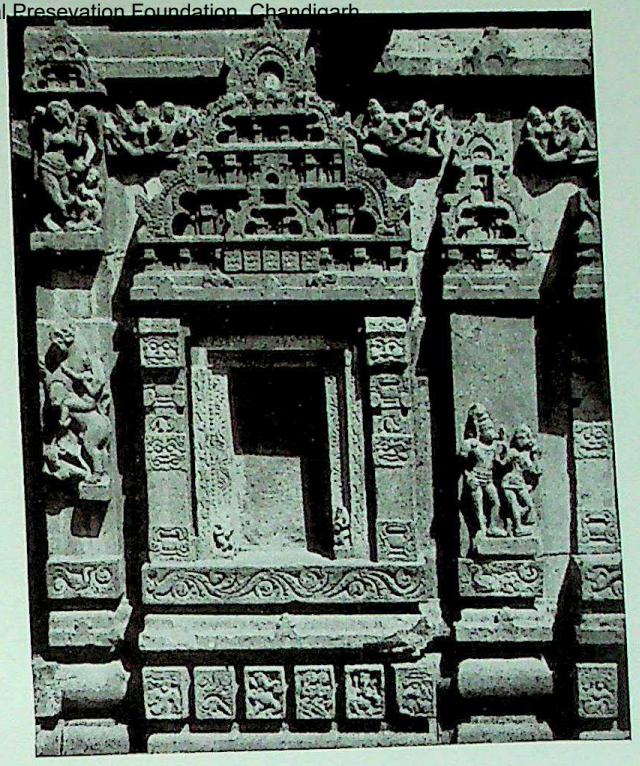
113. Gaja-Katchapa battle



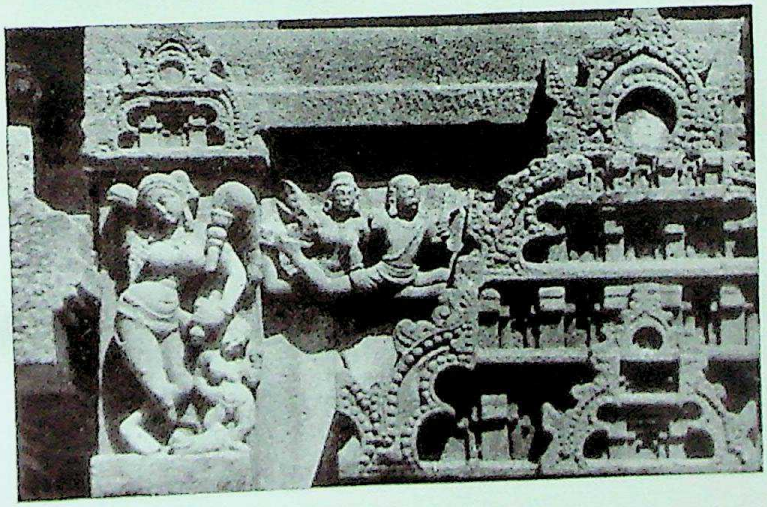
114. Niches, flanking panel of sculpture

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

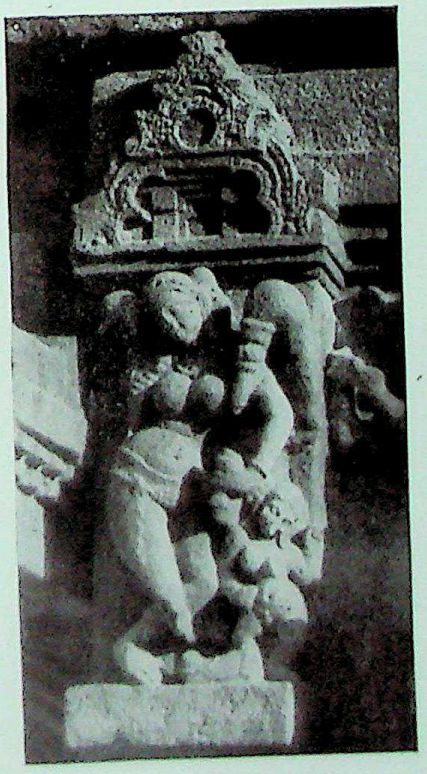
115. *Yali*



116. Niche, with bracket figure and flying celestials

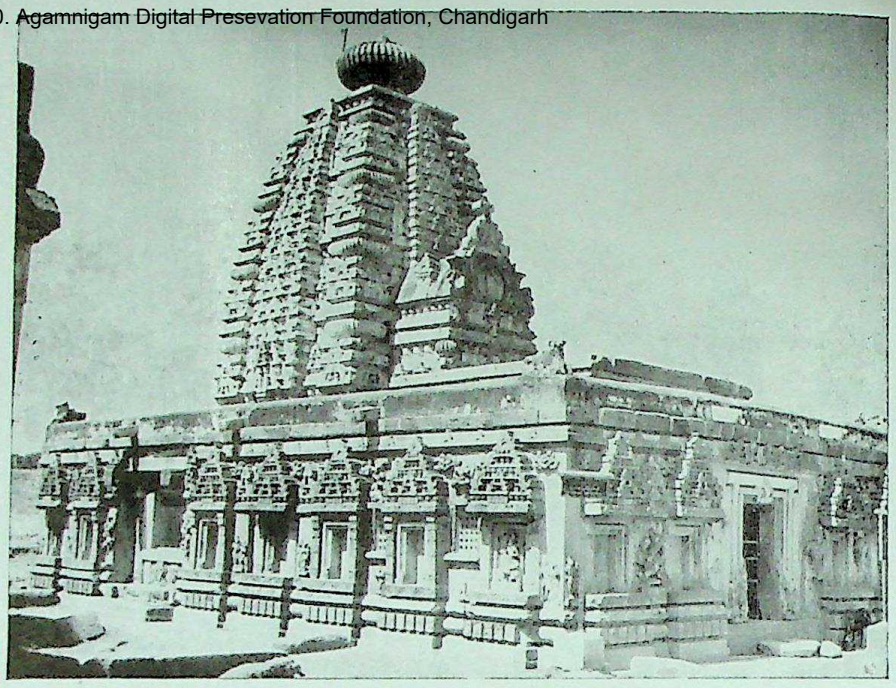


117. Bracket and niche



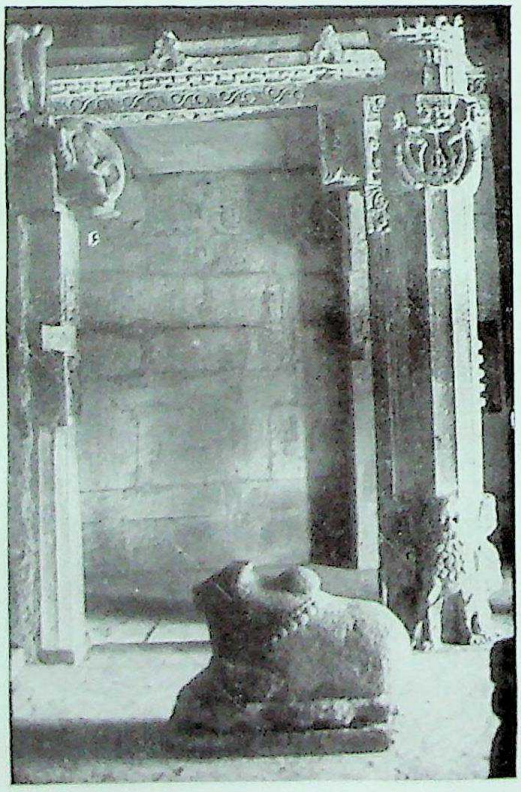
118. Close-up of bracket in figure 117

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



120. Visva-Brahma, another view

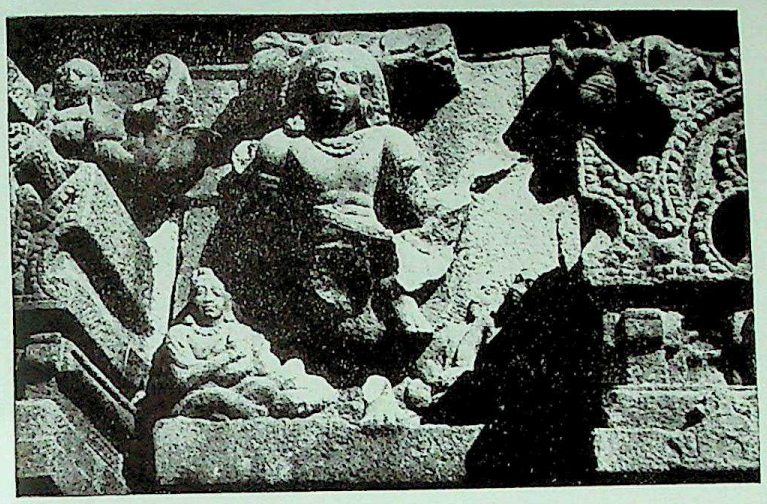
119. Mahishasura-mardani on *Yali*



122. Sanctum

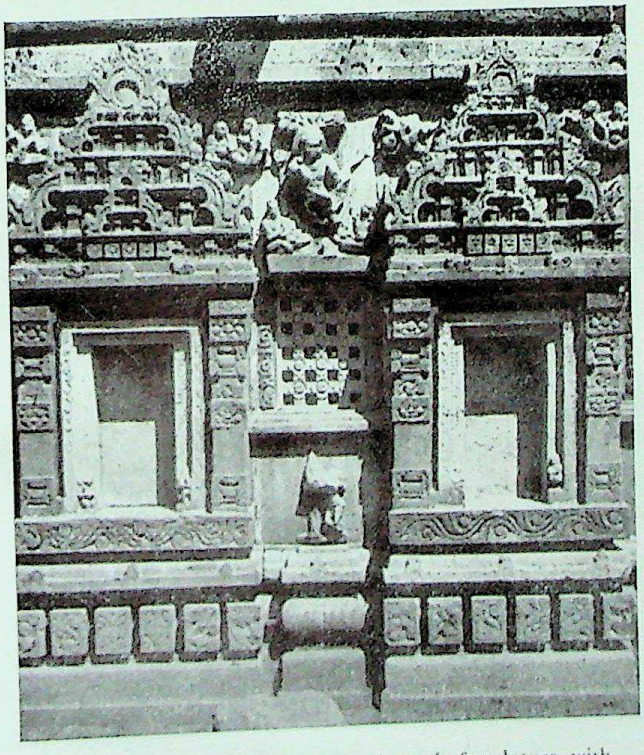
121. Bracket figure

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



123. Dakshinamurti with Sanakasanandanas

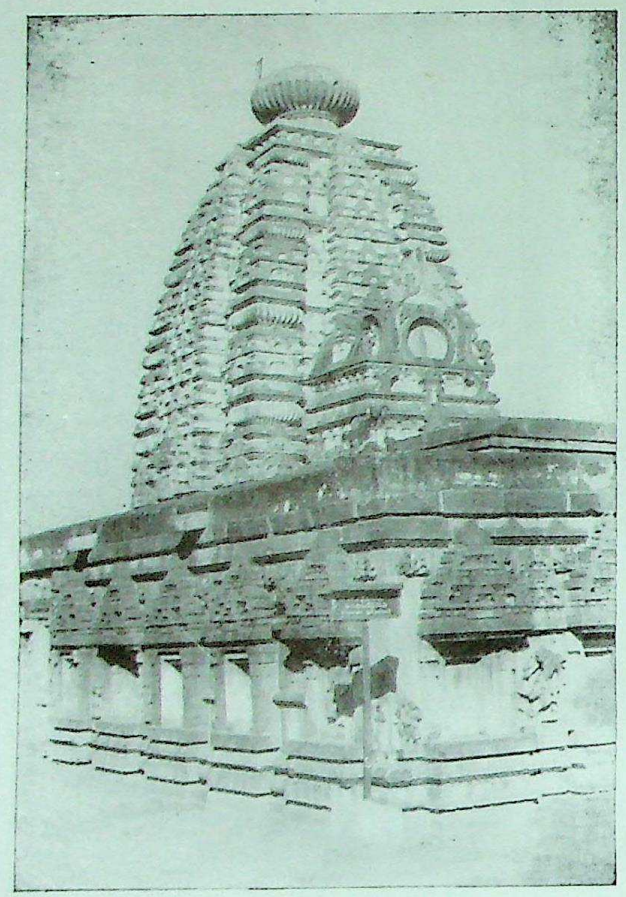
124. *Mithuna*



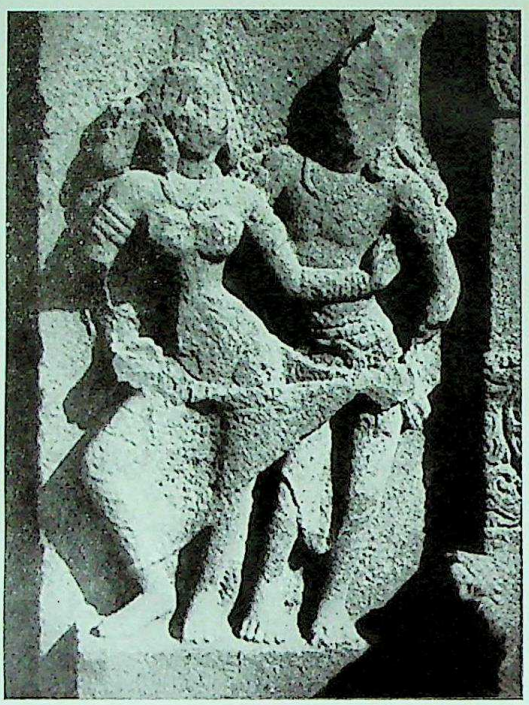
125. Niches, separated by screen and panel of sculpture, with flying celestials

126. Trivikramamurti

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

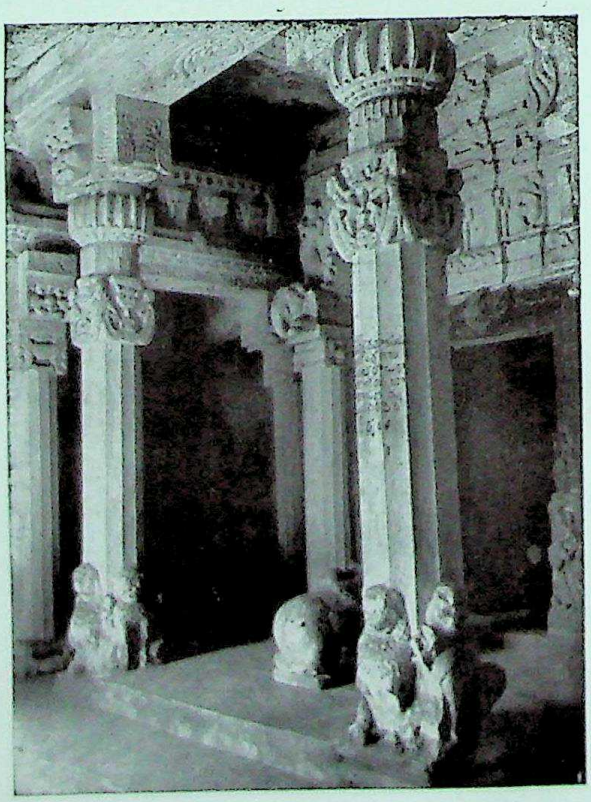


127. Spire of Visva-Brahma



128. *Mithuna*

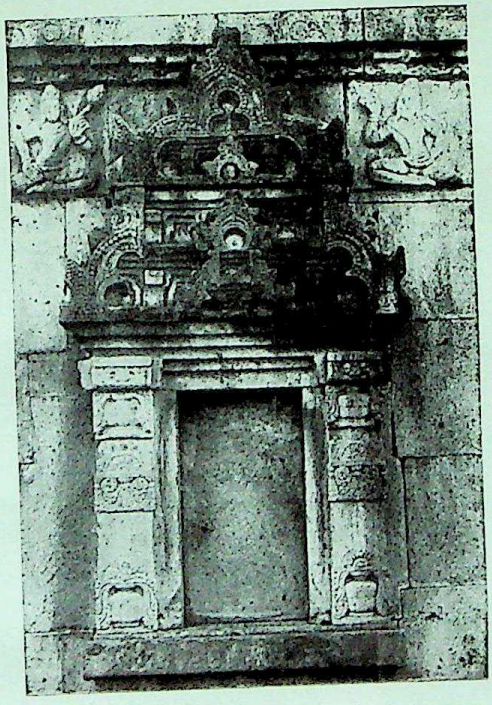
129. *Mithuna*



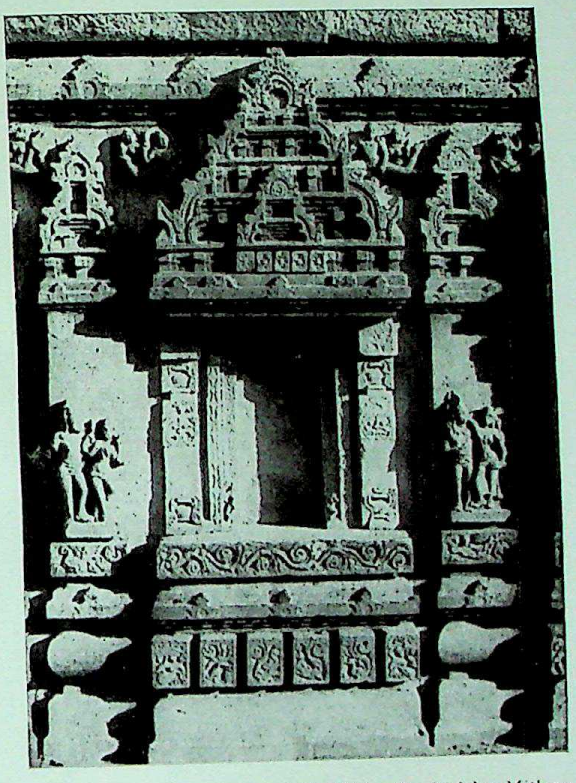
130. Pillars before sanctum

tion Foundation, Chandigarh

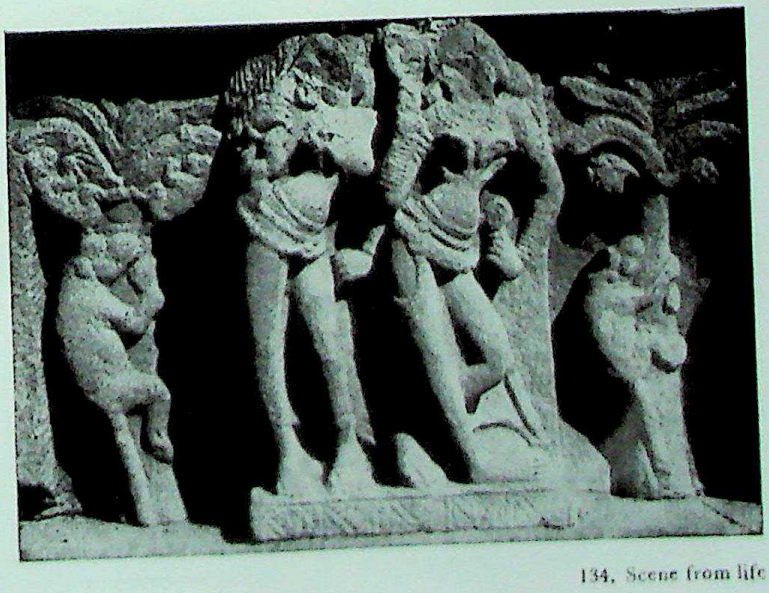
131. The slaying of Hiranya-Kasyapa



132. Niche



133. Niche, flanked by *Mithuna*

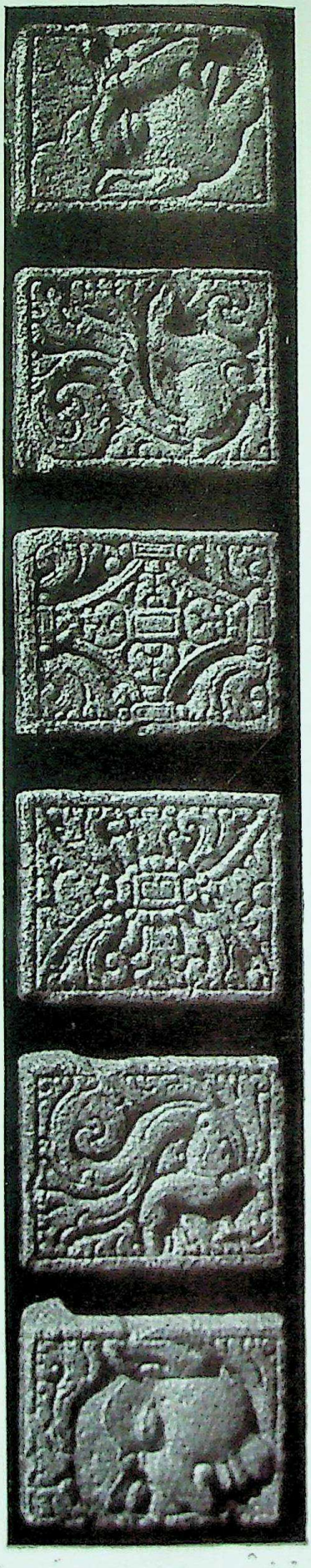


134. Scene from life

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

135. Frieze

136. Frieze



137. Frieze

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

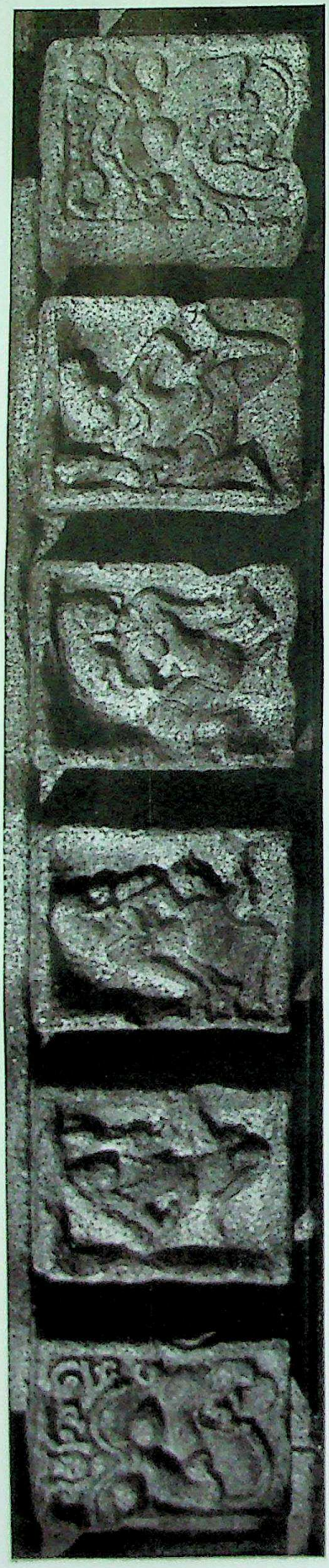
138. Frieze

139. Frieze

140. Frieze

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

141. Frieze

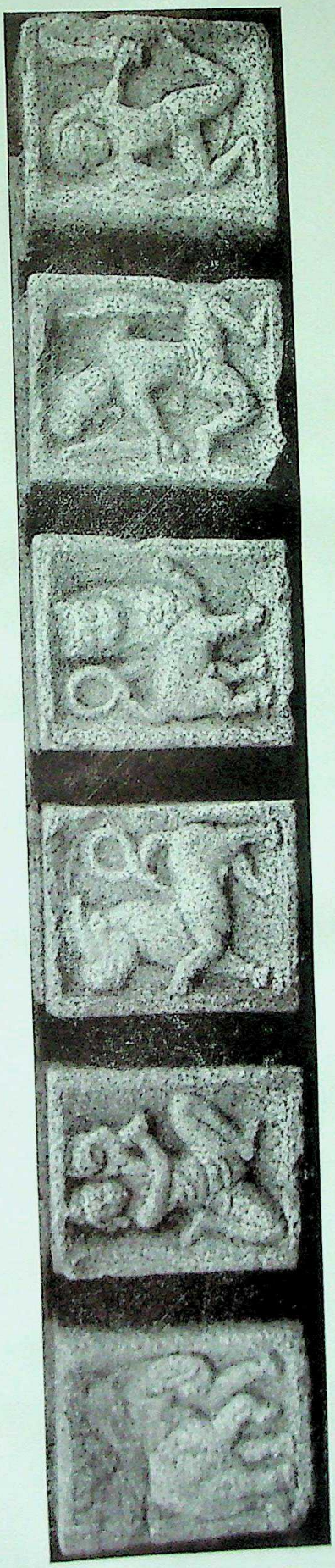


142. Frieze

143. Frieze

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Alampur Museum

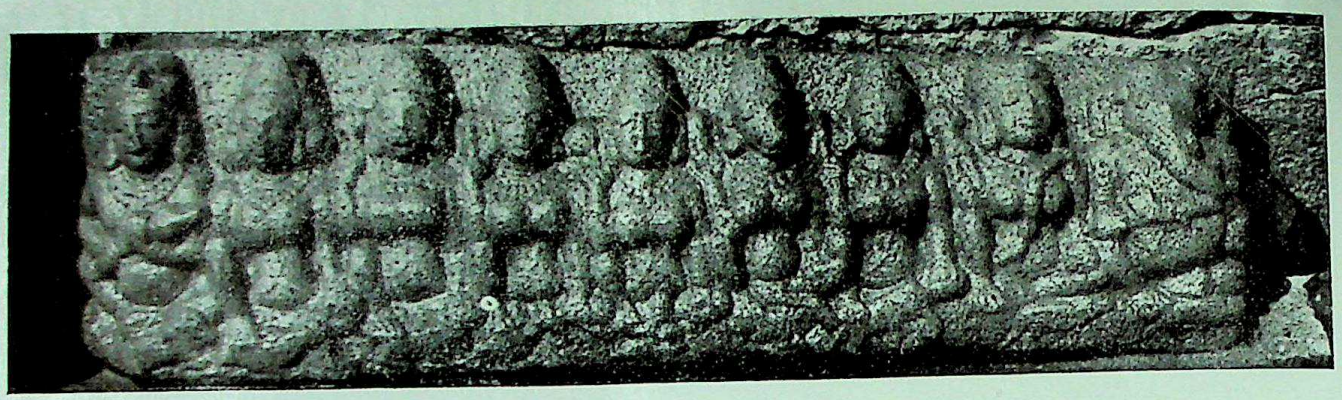


144. Frieze

145. Mahishasura-mardani

146. Dakshinamurti

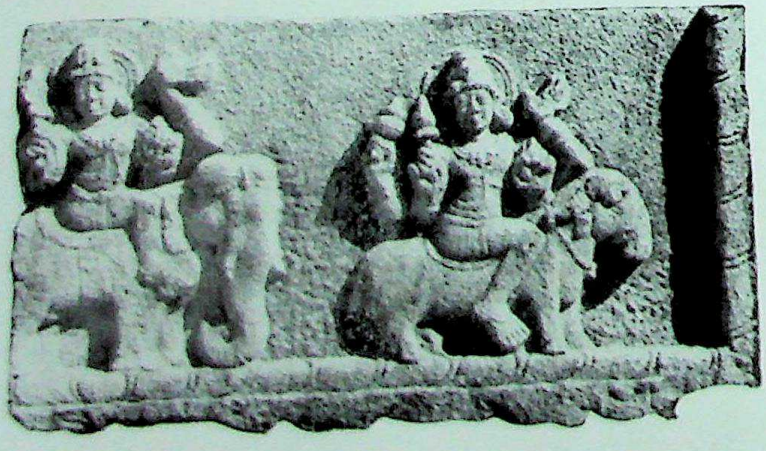
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



147. Saptamatrukas

148. Bhairava

149. Chowdesvari



150. Indra-Agni

151. *Yaksha*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

152. Nataraja

153. Brahma

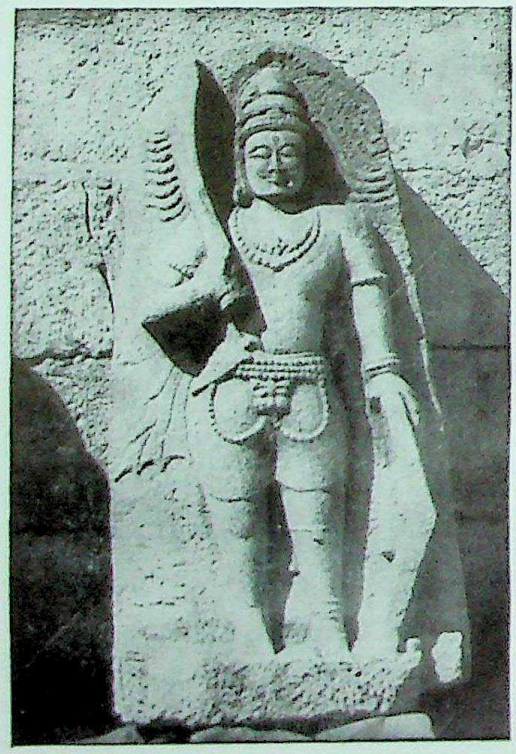
154. Pradoshamurti

155. Carved pillar from fort wall

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

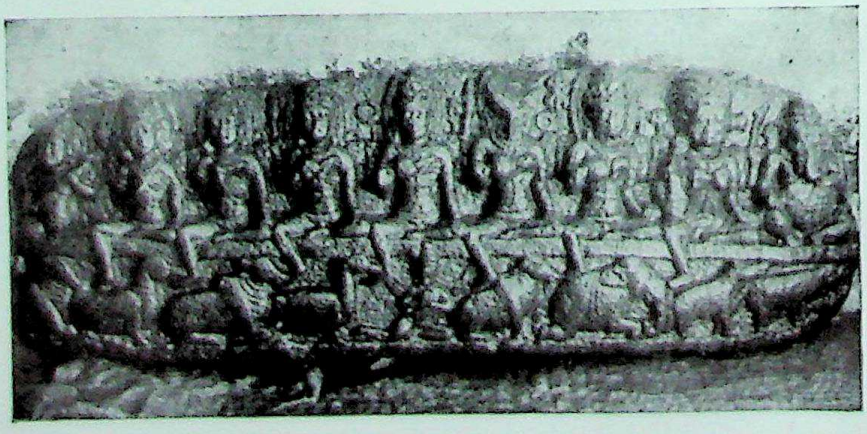
156. Mahishasura-mardani

157. Trimukha-mahesamurti



158. Virabhadra

159. Vrishabharudramurti



160. Saptamatrukas

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

161. Carved pillar from fort wall

162. Close up of panel in figure 161, with Mahishasura-mardani in centre

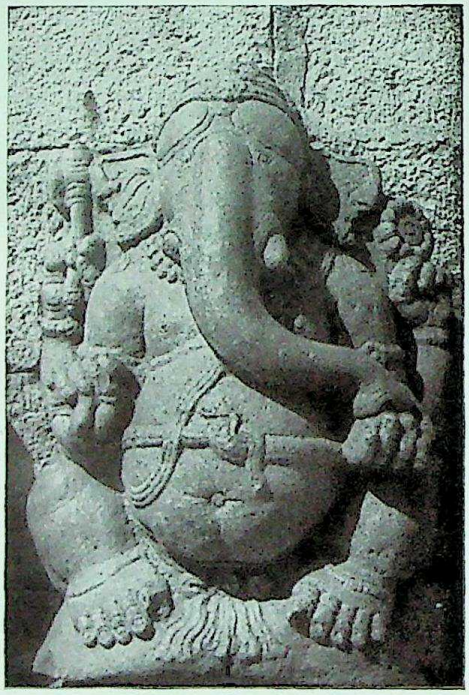
163. Mahishasura-mardani

164. Lakulesa

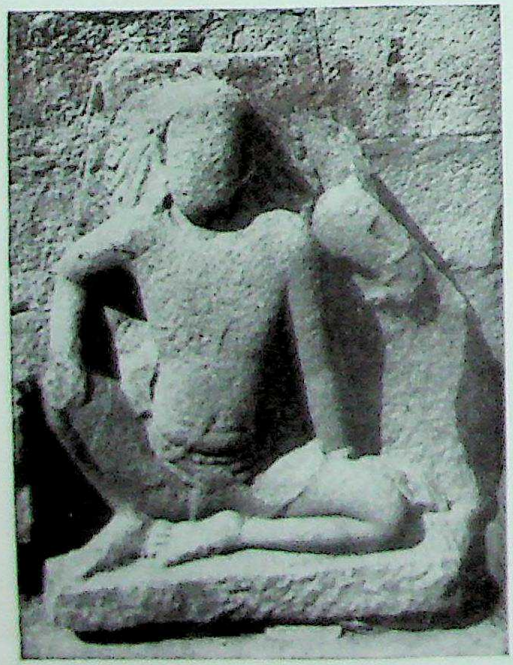
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

165. Fragment of frieze, unidentified

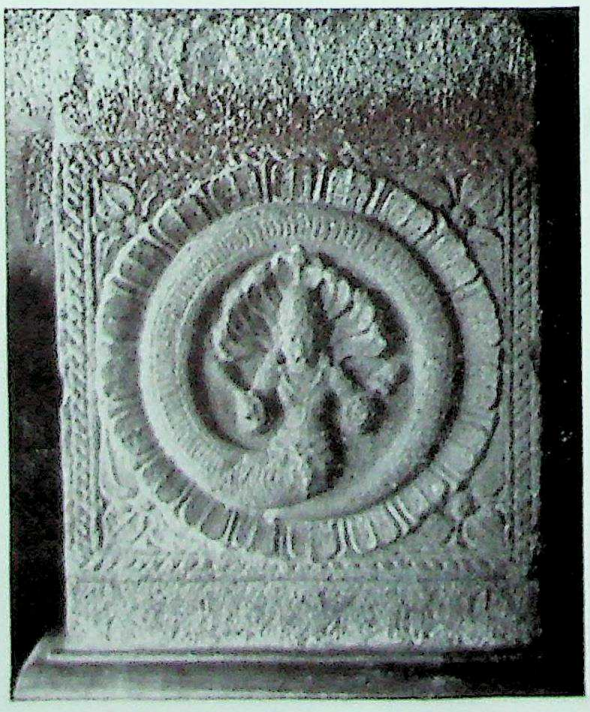
166. Surya



167. Ganesa



168. Kapila

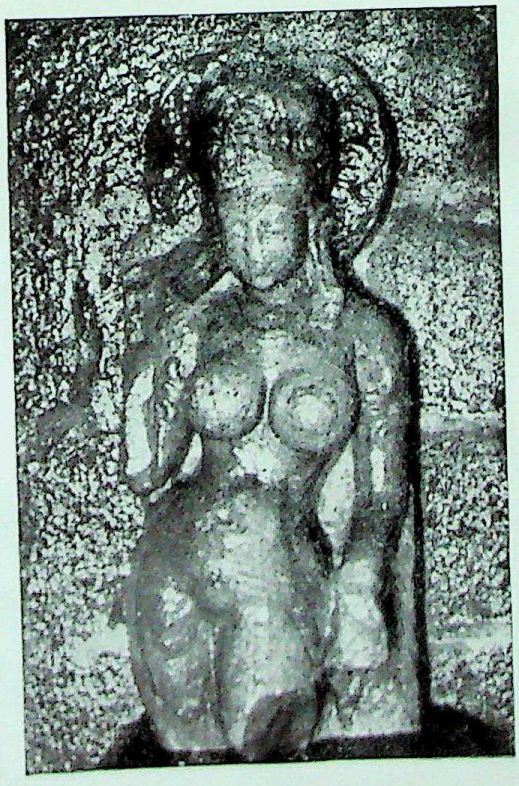


169. Naga

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

170. Mahishasura-mardani

171. *Kirti-mukha*

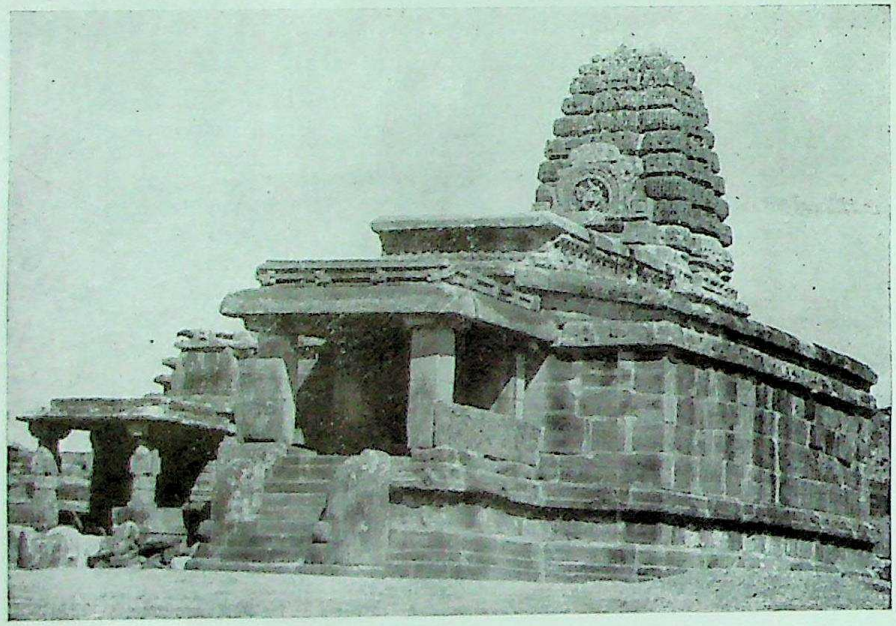


172. *Yakshi*

173. Miniature shrine

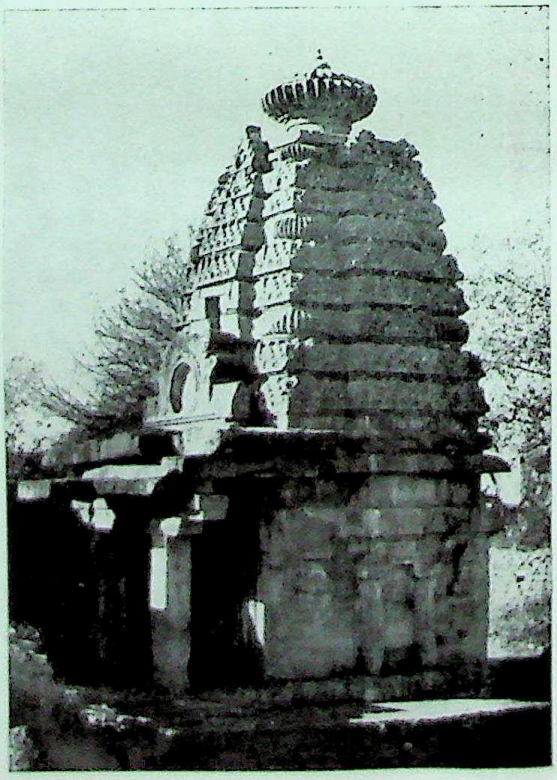
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

174. Lad Khan, Aihole



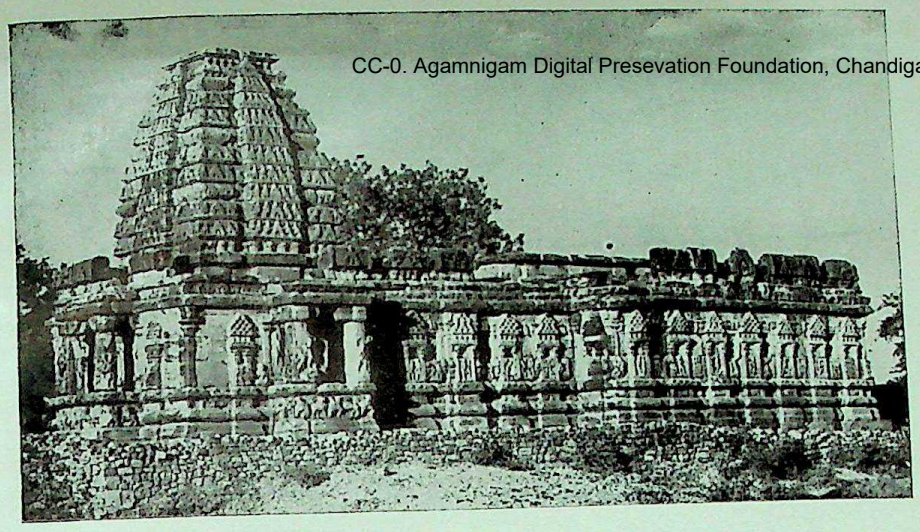
175 Huchchimalli-gudi, Aihole

176. Galaganatha, Pattadakal



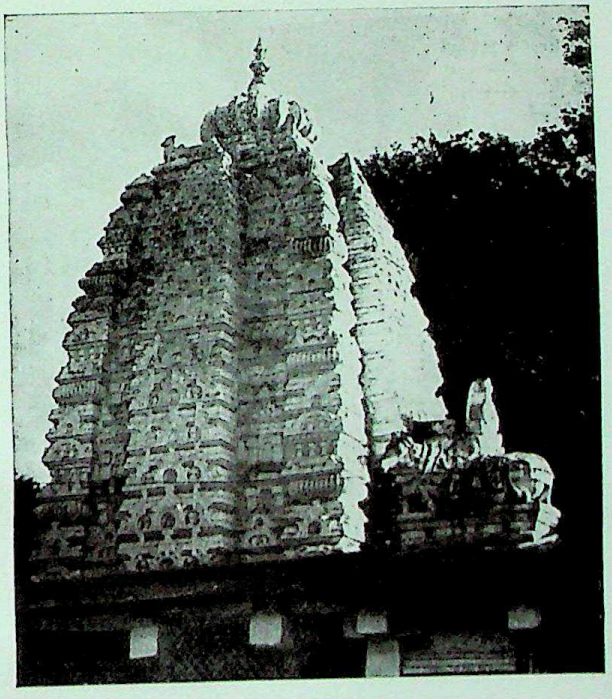
177. Kont-gudi, Aihole

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

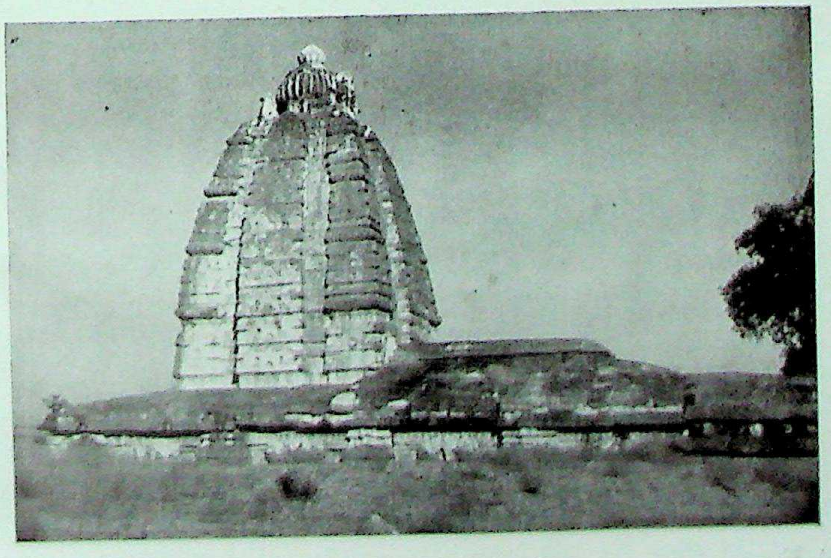


178. Papanatha, Pattadakal

179. Spire of Sangamesvara, Kudali

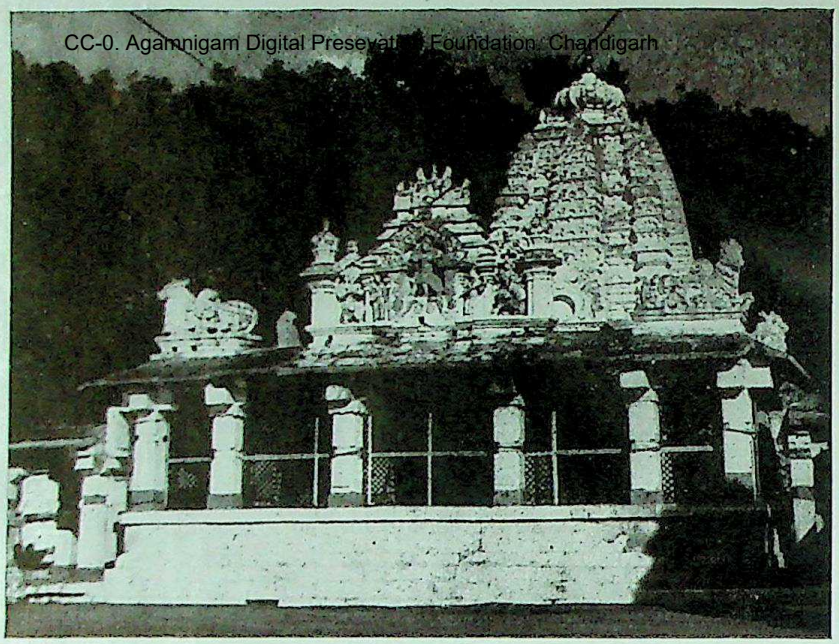


180. Spire of Mahanandisvara, Mahanandi

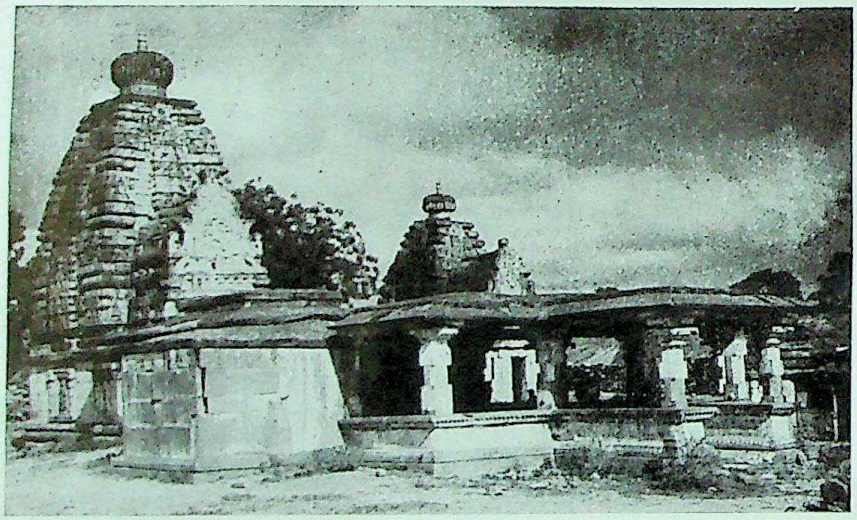


181. Sangamesvara, Kudali

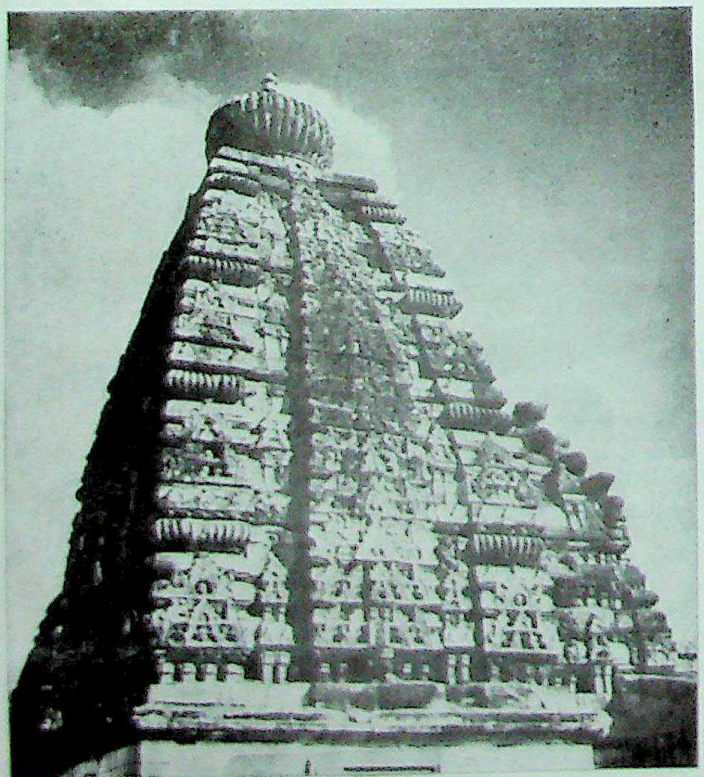
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



182. Mahanandisvara, Mahanandi



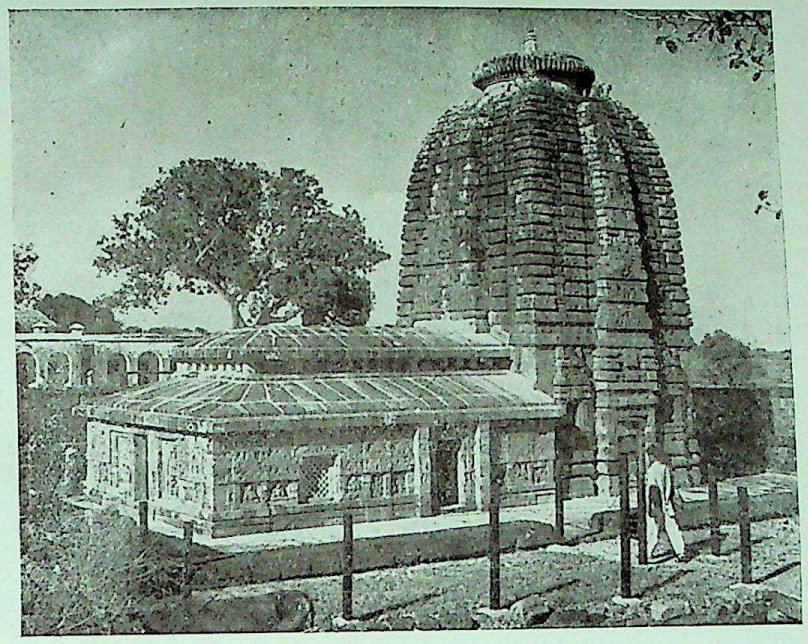
183. Ramalingesvara, Satyavolu



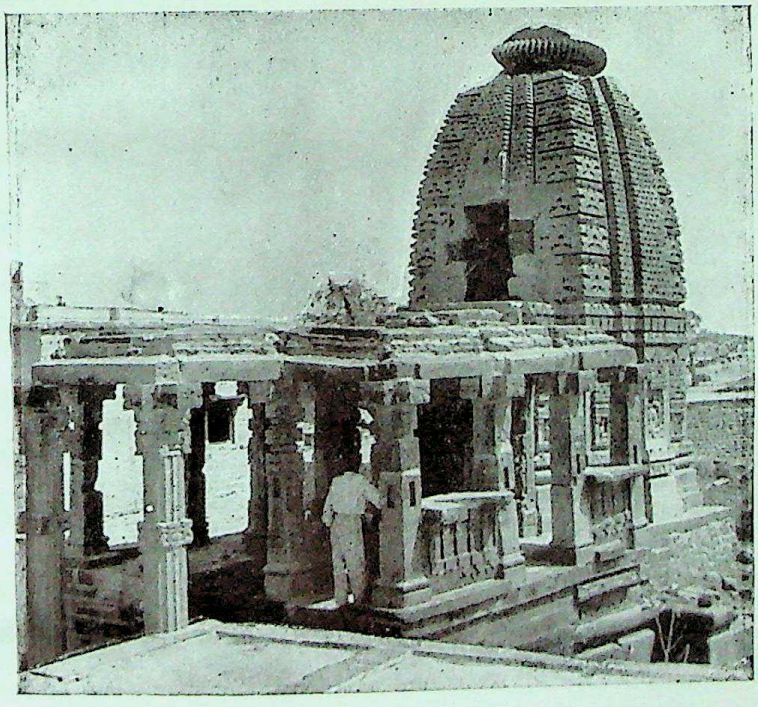
184. Spire of Bhimesvara, Satyavolu

185. Bhimesvara, Satyavolu

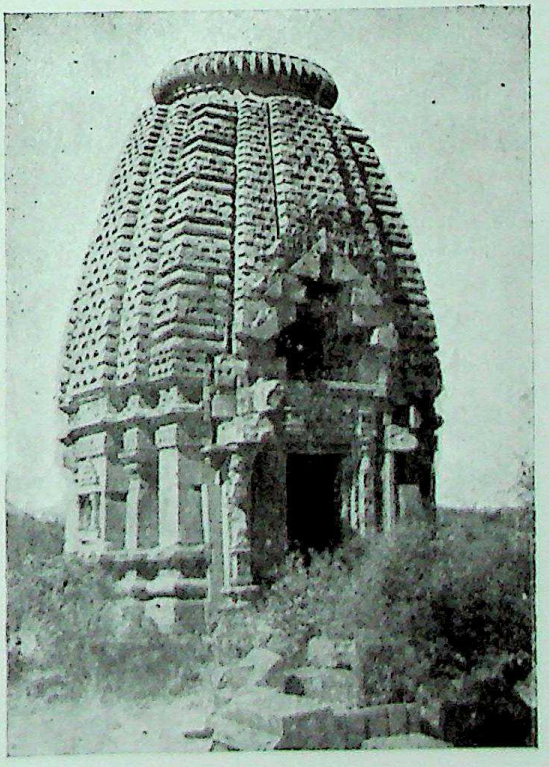
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



186. Parasuramesvara, Bhuvanesvar



187. Sun temple, Osia



188. Temple near Baion, Roda

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

By The same ...

CONTEMPOR...

A comprehensive survey of modern Indian painti... ... the graphic arts

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN ART derives from Mr. P.R. Ramachandra Rao's expositions of the subject: in the United States—at Yale University; the University of Illinois (where it was delivered as the Lorado-Taft Memorial Lecture for 1966); Howard and American Universities, Washington, D.C.; Rice University, the University of Rochester; Michigan State University; the Carnegie Institute, and the Asia Society, New York; in Europe—at the Universities of Heidelberg and Utrecht, and the Oriental Institute, Naples; at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; in Australia—at the Universities of Melbourne and Western Australia, and at the University of Singapore.

SELECT NOTICES

Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India—"attractively printed"; *The Christian Science Monitor, Boston*—"Handsome and informative"; *Buenos Aires Herald*—"A real delight...most handsome plates"; *Winnipeg Free Press*—"An accomplishment of considerable stature...the only comprehensive study...very perceptive statements relative to the function and role of art in society"; *The Times of India, Bombay*—"Pioneering work...succinct analysis and the choice of paintings excellent...first and foremost an art lover's book"; *South African Broadcasting Corporation, Johannesburg*—"One man's highly personal view...a very fascinating book"; *The Ceylon Daily News, Colombo*—"A lifetime study...Rao writes with remarkable facility and brings a fine analytical mind"; *Polish Radio, Warsaw*—"Very interesting"; *Vie des Arts, Montreal*—"Thorough study... precise analysis...testimony of a very special sensitivity"; *The Connoisseur, London*—"a most useful conspectus of the scene". *Art and Artists, London*—"Informative survey...good colour plates"; *Vlaanderen, Ostende*—"Beautiful reproductions...enlightening volume, clear in concept and handsomely brought out"; *Chicago Daily News*—"Knowledgeable and literate...a distinct service". *The Age, Melbourne*—"The only possible approach"; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Paris*—"Remarkable illustrations"; *Art Journal, New York*—"The only book...pioneering effort"; *The Otago Daily Times, Dunedin*—"Leading commentator on Indian art"; and *All India Radio, Bombay*—"Comprehensive survey...critical descriptions...striking specimens".

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN ART is published in a limited edition of 1000 copies, 9 by 11¼ inches, containing 60 pages of letterpress and 65 colour plates and 109 reproductions in black and white, besides line drawings. The book is priced at Rs. 87.50: $ 21 and has been sold out in the greater part.

THE ART OF NAGARJUNAKONDA

SECOND EDITION

The outstanding publication that won a State Award in India for excellence in production

Since its publication in 1956 THE ART OF NAGARJUNAKONDA has been acclaimed as a signal achievement the world over. During these 15 years further archaeological explorations have uncovered Brahmanical, Jain and secular monuments. These finds are adequately covered and treated in a second edition of the book which is under production.

Nagarjunakonda in the Krishna valley in the State of Andhra Pradesh was the focus some 1,700 years ago of the votaries of Buddhism from the entire arc of countries from Ceylon through Burma, the Indonesian archipelago, Thailand and Indo-China to China. It was from Nagarjunakonda in the main that the indigenous art of India sailed forth to inspire the national arts of East Asia. Its priceless archaeological wealth lies irrevocably entombed in a deluge of the Krishna, save for a few monuments of consequence and limestone sculptures of outstanding beauty reconstructed or set up on the hill of Nagarjuna, transformed today into a lone island, sad witness of its great history.

It is therefore that Mr. Ramachandra Rao's book on THE ART OF NAGARJUNAKONDA has become a historic document of exceptional value. His text has been acclaimed as "a great piece of research work", and his pictures themselves as "outstanding essays in the photography of sculpture".

Here are a few assessments:

John Irwin over *The British Broadcasting Corporation, London*—"Nagarjunakonda has been virtually unknown outside archaeological circles. Now this gap has been excellently filled by Mr. Ramachandra Rao. The beautiful plates of this book make an interesting comparison with Amaravati".

Norman Cousins, Editor, *The Saturday Review, New York*—"One of the f... ...work of this kind that has come to my attention".

The Statesman, Calcutta and Delhi—"An altogether admirable ... offering 56 full page plates of a clarity which editors of museum ...

Robert Sage in *The New York H... A-T...* photographs by the author. The erudite ... to any one. An unusually valuable an...

Professor Samuel Mathai over... ledge of the subject but he has also ... insight and understandi...

Louis Renou in *The C... Critique, Paris*—"The fine quality of the 56 photog... commented in a manner p... precise and accompanied by agreeable drawings—all by th...

Alan McCulloch i... *The Herald, Melbourne*—"A series of very careful reproduc... photographed by P.R. R...amachandra Rao who is responsible for the scholarly text."

The Times of India, Bombay and Delhi—"Mr. Ramachandra Rao's monog... been more happily timed. The illustrations make a comprehensive selection. The line draw... invariably interesting".

The book is published in an attractive for... of 9 by 11½ inches of 230 pages, ... 75 plates, besides several illustrati... ...iced at Rs. 92.50: $ 21.75.

AKSHARA, 16-11-1/3